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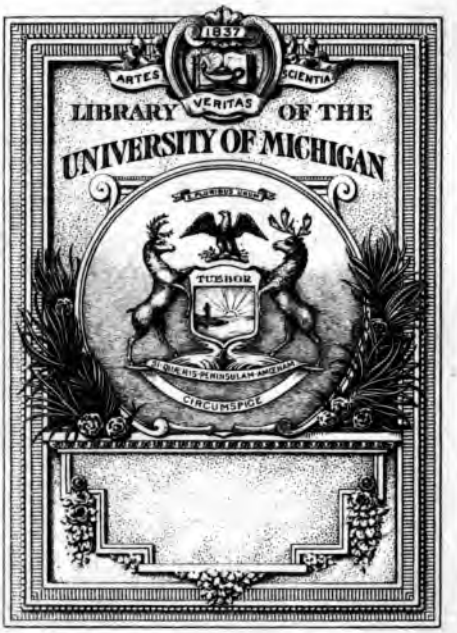
CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

JOSEPH BUCKLIN BISHOP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CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

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Most truly your friend
Charles J Bonaparte.

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

BY

JOSEPH BUCKLIN BISHOP

Editor of "Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children",
Author of "Theodore Roosevelt and His Time"
"The Panama Gateway," Etc.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	ANCESTRY	3
II.	CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH	22
III.	COLLEGE LIFE	31
IV.	LAW SCHOOL	43
V.	CAREER AS A LAWYER	48
VI.	MORALITY IN POLITICS	61
VII.	FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT IN MARYLAND	66
VIII.	HIGH STANDARDS IN NATIONAL POLITICS	77
IX.	EARLY ASSOCIATION WITH ROOSEVELT	92
X.	SECRETARY OF THE NAVY	98
XI.	SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (CONTINUED)	112
XII.	ATTORNEY-GENERAL	128
XIII.	ATTORNEY-GENERAL (CONTINUED)	137

CHAPTER		PAGE
XIV.	ATTORNEY-GENERAL (CONCLUDED) .	152
XV.	HUMOR IN OFFICIAL LIFE . . .	161
XVI.	RETURN TO PRIVATE LIFE . . .	173
XVII.	FAVORED ROOSEVELT FOR PRESIDENT IN 1912	180
XVIII.	ATTITUDE IN THE WORLD WAR .	191
XIX.	MARRIAGE — CITY AND COUNTRY HOUSES	209
XX.	PERSONALITY	222
XXI.	RELIGION	237
XXII.	NOTABLE APPRECIATIONS . . .	253
XXIII.	FORMAL TRIBUTES OF ASSOCIATES .	273
	INDEX	295

ILLUSTRATIONS

Charles Joseph Bonaparte . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Three Heads Portrait of Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte, by Gilbert Stuart 16

Charles Joseph Bonaparte at the age of four . . 28

Charles Joseph Bonaparte at the age of seven . . 28

Charles Joseph Bonaparte at his desk in the Navy Department 104

Facsimile letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated January 15, 1906 130

Facsimile letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated March 18, 1907 135

Mrs. Charles Joseph Bonaparte 212

Bust of Napoleon I, as General, when he was 27 years of age 216

View of Bonaparte room in the Baltimore home . 220

Another view of the Bonaparte room 228

The country house, "Bella Vista" 234

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE was a direct descendant of the Bonapartes of Corsica, the family whose name was made famous by Napoleon I, Emperor of France. He was the grandson of Jerome Bonaparte, the youngest of the four brothers of Napoleon, and was consequently a grandnephew of the Emperor. The story of his ancestry, which is that of the founding of the American branch of the Bonaparte family, is one of the most romantic in our history. It began with the marriage, in 1803, of Jerome Bonaparte to Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, and ended only with the death of the latter, in 1879, a period of seventy-six years. During the early years of that period the marriage was the subject of absorbing international interest, largely because of the part that Napoleon was playing in it, but scarcely less because of the remarkable personality of the bride.

In the summer of 1803 Jerome Bonaparte, then in the nineteenth year of his age, holding the rank of captain in the French navy, paid a visit to the United States. He is described in contemporary accounts of him as a handsome young man of an affectionate and impetuous disposition. As a brother of Napoleon, who was than First Consul of France, he was received with the highest marks of distinction. Official and social honors were lavished upon him and he became a great favorite wherever he went. Soon after his arrival he visited Baltimore and at a ball he met Elizabeth Patterson, the daughter of William Patterson, a leading merchant and ship owner and one of the wealthiest citizens not only of Baltimore but of the country. His daughter, then eighteen years of age, was the reigning belle of the city, in the first bloom of that beauty which later made her famous in European cities, and which she retained almost undimmed far into middle age. The verdict of her contemporaries is unanimous in awarding her not only quite surpassing loveliness of face and perfection of form, but brilliant wit, intellectual gifts of high order, and great charm of manner. The susceptible young Frenchman succumbed at the first sight of this entrancing creature and she, being of a romantic

disposition and dazzled by the brilliant prospect of an alliance with a brother of Napoleon, responded eagerly to his proffers of love. Mr. Patterson, foreseeing objection to the match by Napoleon, forbade the courtship and sent his daughter to Virginia, but the lovers continued to correspond with each other, and Jerome precipitated matters by procuring a marriage license. Finding his opposition was in vain, Mr. Patterson consented finally to the marriage, but insisted that it should be postponed till after the nineteenth birthday of Jerome, on November 15, 1803. The ceremony took place on December 24, 1803, and was performed in accordance with the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church, by John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, afterward Archbishop, and the first primate of the Catholic Church in America. All precautions were taken to give to the union full religious and official sanction, and all legal formalities were carefully complied with. The marriage contract was drawn by Alexander J. Dallas, subsequently Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and was witnessed by M. Sotin the French Consul at Baltimore, by Alexander Le Camas, Jerome's secretary, who afterward became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the kingdom of Westphalia

when Napoleon had made Jerome King of that country, and by the Mayor of Baltimore and other leading citizens. The original document, with signatures, has been presented by the widow of Charles J. Bonaparte, to the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. It is in an excellent condition of preservation. The following extracts from it show clearly that Mr. Patterson had a controlling hand in its construction, for they embody the fears he was known to entertain concerning the outcome of the marriage:

"ARTICLE I. — In case of any difficulty being raised relative to the validity of the said marriage either in the State of Maryland or the French Republic, the said Jerome Bonaparte engages, at the request of the said Elizabeth Patterson and the said William Patterson, or either of them, to execute any deed necessary to remove the difficulty, and to confer on the said union all the character of a valid and perfect marriage according to the respective laws of the State of Maryland and of the French Republic.

"ARTICLE IV. — That if the marriage should be annulled either on demand of the said Jerome Bonaparte or that of any member of his family, the said Elizabeth Patterson shall have a right

in any case to one-third of the real, personal, and mixed property of her future husband."

Immediately following their marriage Jerome and his wife visited Washington, where they were entertained by the French Minister, General Turreau, and later made a tour of the Eastern and Middle States, being accorded a series of brilliant entertainments in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and other cities, for their marriage was the social sensation of the day.

In the meantime no word came from Napoleon, who was known to be opposed to the match. Various efforts were made by Mr. Patterson through the American Minister in Paris, to reconcile him to it, but all failed. On April 20, 1804, nearly four months after the wedding, Napoleon sent orders to Jerome to return to France by the first French frigate sailing from the United States, and at the same time sent an order through the French Minister of Marine to the French Consul-General in New York directing him "to prohibit all captains of French vessels from receiving on board the young person to whom the citizen Jerome has connected himself, it being his (the First Consul's) intention that she shall by no means come into France, and his will that, should she arrive,

she be suffered not to land, but be sent immediately back to the United States."

On the same date the Minister of Marine wrote a letter to Jerome in which he quoted Napoleon as saying: "I will receive Jerome leaving in America the young person in question, he shall come hither to associate himself to my fortune. Should he bring her along with him, she shall not put a foot on the territory of France. If he comes alone, I shall recall the error of a moment, and the fault of youth." In defiance of this edict, Jerome made several efforts, during 1804, all of which failed, to get passage with his wife to Europe. In the meantime, Napoleon, on May 18, 1804, had declared himself Emperor and was more arrogant in temper than ever. His anger with Jerome had been augmented by the latter's refusal to accept his terms and return to France without his wife.

An interesting letter, the original of which is among the many Bonaparte papers in the possession of the widow of Charles Joseph Bonaparte, in Baltimore, gives plausibility to the inference that Napoleon sought the aid of his mother, Letizia Bonaparte, in the task of inducing Jerome to desert his wife. It was written to Jerome from Paris on December 25, 1804,

and while the body of the letter is not in the mother's handwriting the signature, "Bonaparte Mère," undoubtedly is. She bore the title of "Madame Mère," as a mark of distinction when her son became famous. As this letter, although alluded to in some of the published works on the career of Jerome, has never been published, it is of sufficient interest for a translation of it to be given here in full:

Paris, 4th Nivose, Year 13.
(25th December)

"I do not know, my dear son, how to account for your obstinate silence towards your mother. It is nearly a year since I received a letter from you. My strong affection for you, which has increased by reason of your present position, does not deserve this indifference.

"You must realize what it costs me to see some of my children at the height of happiness while others are unfortunate; but I do not despair of seeing you all happy and content some day. On this account you must return to France as soon as possible without your wife. I foresee that this condition will seem hard to you, but it is necessary for you to make this sacrifice and begin by satisfying your brother of your sincere repentance. Then I hope that time and patience will settle everything.

"If you are good enough to follow my advice, I hope you will not regret it; but if you persist in refusing to yield I see no remedy, and shall have the misfortune to pass my days in sadness. But I abandon myself to more consoling ideas and believe that after receiving my letter you will surely take steps to return to Paris. I have been eight months in Rome and only returned a few days ago. The voyage gave me a slight indisposition which still keeps me in the house, but which is not serious. I left Lucien and his family in good health. Everyone else here is well. I await news of you with impatience and embrace you tenderly,

BONAPARTE MÈRE."

Jerome refused to yield to this appeal, and on March 11, 1805, he set sail with his wife for Lisbon on the *Erin*, one of Mr. Patterson's ships, arriving there on April 2. The vessel was met by a French frigate, and Madame Jerome was not allowed to land. Jerome left his wife and went to Paris to plead with Napoleon. He was refused an interview and told to communicate with the Emperor by letter, which he did. In reply the Emperor wrote:

"I have received your letter of this morning. There are no faults that you have committed

which may not be effaced in my eyes by a sincere repentance. Your marriage is null, both in a religious and legal point of view. *I will never acknowledge it.* Write to Miss Patterson to return to the United States, and tell her it is not possible to give things another turn. On condition of her return to America, I will allow her a pension during her life of sixty thousand francs per year, provided she does not take the name of my family, to which she has no right, her marriage having no existence."

Meanwhile, after a few days' delay at Lisbon, the *Erin* with Mrs. Jerome and her brother sailed for Amsterdam, arriving there on May 1. The vessel was met in the Texel Roads by two war-ships and all communication with the shore was forbidden. After lying there under strict guard for eight days, the *Erin* sailed for Dover, arriving there May 19. So great had been the interest aroused by Mrs. Jerome's various experiences that Mr. Pitt, Prime Minister of England, sent a regiment to Dover to hold in check the great throng that had assembled to see her land. She took up her residence at Camberwell, England, where, on July 7, 1805, a son, her only child, was born and was named Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte.

Napoleon had, in the meantime, done his ut-

most to have the marriage made void. On May 24, 1805, he addressed a letter containing several glaring misstatements to Pope Pius VII, requesting him to publish a bull annulling the marriage, accompanying the request with the present of a handsome gold tiara. This was the Pope who had conducted the coronation ceremonies in Notre Dame, Paris, on December 2, 1804, when, greatly to the discomfort of his Holiness who was about to place the crown on Napoleon's head, the latter snatched it from his hands and proceeded first to crown himself and next to crown Josephine.

The Pope, on June 26, 1805, replied that he had made careful researches to ascertain if his apostolic authority could furnish any method of satisfying the Emperor's wishes but could find none, and was compelled to refuse to declare the nullity of the marriage. The refusal of the Pope infuriated Napoleon who never forgave him for it. He at once instructed his Imperial Council of State to declare the marriage null and void, an order which that subservient body obeyed without protest or delay.

After leaving his wife at Lisbon, Jerome did not see her again. He wrote to her quite frequently, avowing his undying love for her and assuring her he would never abandon her, and

would never forget that he was her husband and the father of her child; but the uncompromising pressure of Napoleon upon him was more than his naturally weak nature could resist. After the lapse of a few months, he made his submission and was admitted to the presence of the Emperor who saluted him with the words: "So, sir, you are the first of the family who shamefully abandoned his post. It will require many splendid actions to wipe off that stain from your reputation, as to your love-affair with your little girl I do not regard it." As the reward of consenting to the divorce, Jerome was created a Prince of the empire and promoted to the rank of admiral.

Writing to her father on August 14, 1805, in regard to Napoleon's offer of 60,000 francs a year, Mrs. Jerome said: "I have never taken the slightest notice of it." But she subsequently accepted it. In the same letter she said in speaking of Jerome: "As we have no reason to suppose that he will ever consent to give me up, we must certainly act as if we supposed him possessed of some principle and honor." She had proof a few weeks later that this supposition was unfounded, and in October, 1805, she sailed for the United States with her infant son. As further reward for his desertion, Jerome was

made by the Senate, in 1806, successor to the imperial throne, in the event of Napoleon's leaving no male heir, and in 1807 he was created King of Westphalia. In August of that year he married Catherine Frederica, Princess of Würtemburg. Three children were born of this marriage. His reign was very unpopular and he was repeatedly rebuked by the Emperor for his profligacy, immorality, and general misbehavior. He and his first wife, who after his desertion called herself Madame Bonaparte, never saw each other again after they parted at Lisbon except once in the gallery of the Pitti Palace in Florence, in 1822, when they came face to face with mutual recognition but passed without speaking.

Madame Bonaparte took up her residence in her father's house in Baltimore, on her return to America in 1805, remaining there till the summer of 1815. She was never happy in that city after her experience abroad, and when the news of Napoleon's downfall reached her she started immediately for Europe. She had in that year obtained, through a special act of the Maryland Legislature, a divorce from her husband. Writing to her father from England, on September 2, 1815, she spoke of the United States as "a country where I never was appre-

ciated and where I can never be contented," and of Europe as a country in which she was "cherished, visited, respected, and admired," where she was "in the first society" and "in the sphere and in contact with modes of life for which nature intended me." From England she went to Paris in the winter of 1815–1816, immediately after the abdication of Napoleon and the accession of Louis XVIII, and her reception there was all that her heart could wish. "Her success was greater than that ever before enjoyed there by any American woman. Her sufferings had made her a heroine, and her grace and beauty now made her a social queen. . . . The Duke of Wellington was among her admirers, Talleyrand praised her wit, Madame de Staël extolled her beauty, and the leading men of the time sought her acquaintance." * A letter which she wrote to her father on February 22, 1816, contains a passage which shows the opinion she had come to hold of her husband: "The ex-King of Westphalia is now living at the court of Würtemburg. He has a large fortune, and is too mean to support his own son."

Madame Bonaparte returned to Baltimore in the summer of 1816, and remained there till

* "Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte." Eugene L. Didier.

May 1, 1819, when she sailed again for Europe with her son, going to Geneva, where the boy, then fourteen years of age, was to be put to school. She was welcomed in Geneva with the same social honors that had been bestowed upon her in Paris, and during the ensuing eight years she passed most of her time there, making occasional visits to Rome, Florence, and Paris. In the spring of 1820, the Princess Borghese, Jerome's sister Pauline, sent an invitation to her to visit Rome in company with her son and make the acquaintance of the Bonaparte family. The Princess was especially desirous of seeing the boy of whom flattering accounts had reached her. According to his mother he was at this time an attractive youth. "He has," she wrote to her father, "more conversation and better manners, a more graceful presentation, than other children of his age, and I am constantly tormented with the fear of seeing him spoiled by the compliments paid him in society. . . . He has grown taller, and much better looking; he is thought very handsome, but I do not myself think him by any means a beauty, and regret that others tell him so, as it is a kind of praise which never made anyone better or happier." These are interesting observations, coming from a woman who had been hailed in the

THREE HEADS PORTRAIT OF ELIZABETH PATTERSON BONAPARTE BY GILBERT STUART

leading cities of Europe for many years as one of the most beautiful in the world.

Madame Bonaparte hesitated for some months about accepting the invitation of the Princess but finally decided to do so, being convinced that her son's interests would be promoted thereby. In November, 1821, she left Geneva for Rome with young Jerome, and soon after arrival there called with him upon the Princess and Madame Mère who were living together. They were cordially received and Madame Mère and the Princess were so much pleased with the son that they entered at once upon a project to have him marry Charlotte, the daughter of Joseph Bonaparte, the eldest brother of Napoleon, and at one time King of Naples, who was then living in the United States under the name of Comte de Survilliers. Madame Bonaparte warmly supported the project, and her son was at the time in favor of it, for he wrote to his grandfather Patterson, on January 7, 1822, in regard to the proposed marriage: "I hope it may take place, for I could return immediately to America to pass the rest of my life among my relatives and friends. Mamma is very anxious for the match. My father is also, so that I hope you will approve of it."

In furtherance of the project, young Jerome sailed in February, 1822, for the United States, and soon after his arrival called upon his uncle at his residence in Philadelphia. He was received in a friendly manner, but his uncle made no allusion to the proposed marriage. When he called a second time, he was told that the Comte was absent "on his travels," and no more was heard of the project. It was evident that his uncle who had at first professed to favor the match had changed his mind.

In accordance with his mother's wishes, in case the match did not come off, Jerome proceeded to Lancaster, Mass., and began his preparation for admission to Harvard University under the instruction of a tutor. Eight months later, in February, 1823, he was admitted to the university. He was graduated in 1826, and soon afterward sailed for Europe to join his mother. He renewed his friendly relations with the members of the Bonaparte family, including his father who was then living in Rome. Writing to his grandfather Patterson, on January 17, 1827, he said: "My father is very anxious for me to remain with him altogether, but I cannot think for a moment of settling myself out of America to whose government, manners and customs I am too much attached and accus-

tomed to find pleasure in those of Europe which are so different from my early education." His father wished him to marry and settle in Europe, but his preference for life in America was not to be overcome. He sailed for the United States in June, 1827, and two years later, November 3, 1829, he married Miss Susan May Williams, of Baltimore. Congratulations came to him from all the members of the Bonaparte family, including Madame Mère, but none from his mother, who was unable to reconcile herself to the marriage.

Upon the accession of Napoleon III, in 1852, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte visited Paris and was warmly welcomed by the Emperor who called him "My dear cousin," invited him to dine at the imperial palace, and subsequently secured from the Council of State a decree making him a citizen of France, and entitling the descendants of Elizabeth Patterson to the name of Bonaparte, although they could not be recognized as members of the imperial family. This was granted in spite of a formal protest by Jerome Bonaparte, ex-King of Westphalia. After his death in 1860, Madame Bonaparte, through her son, made an appeal in the French courts for a share in his estate, but as to grant this appeal would be to establish the rights of her-

self and descendants to membership in the imperial family, it was denied, probably through imperial influence. Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte protested vigorously to the Emperor against the injustice of the decree of the Council of State, and returned to Baltimore, where he passed the remainder of his life. He had studied law but he never practised the profession, and devoted himself to the management of his inherited fortune and the property of his wife. He died in Baltimore on June 17, 1870, at the age ofsixty-five, leaving two sons, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte born on November 5, 1830, and Charles Joseph Bonaparte born on June 9, 1851. The latter was named Charles after his great grandfather, the father of Napoleon, and Joseph after his great uncle, the eldest brother of Napoleon. Madame Bonaparte, after repeated visits of considerable length to Europe returned to Baltimore in 1861, and remained there till her death on April 4, 1879.

On the maternal side the ancestry of Charles had a strong Puritan strain. His grandmother, Elizabeth Patterson, was of Scotch-Irish descent and his mother, Susan May Williams, came of New England stock. The dominating influence upon his life came from his mother, who was a woman of high intelligence and great force of

character. Through constant and intimate association with him during his childhood and early manhood she imbued him with the principles that she had inherited from her New England ancestors and moulded his character upon those lines of rigid morality from which he never varied. She taught him also to forget his French ancestry and become, as she herself was, a loyal and devoted American. During the Civil War when popular sentiment in Maryland was strongly on the side of the South, she was so outspoken and aggressively for the Union that she was very unpopular with the large element of Southern sympathizers in Baltimore. Her husband took the side of the North in the Civil War, and when the war split the Maryland Club of Baltimore in two, and the Northern section of it formed the Union Club, he became its first President.

It was from his mother that Charles got the inspiration and the courage which he displayed in his long fight against corrupt men and corrupt methods in politics and which earned for him, in the estimation of all true men, the title of model citizen and patriotic American.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE was born nearly twenty-one years after his brother, Jerome Napoleon. He arrived in the household just as his brother was leaving it for active life, for Jerome was a cadet in the West Point Military Academy, and the first journey that Charles took was, in his nurse's arms, to West Point when he was barely a year old, to be present at his brother's graduation from the academy in 1852. Immediately after graduation Jerome was assigned to service on the Texas frontier where he was stationed till 1854, when he resigned from the United States army and joined the French imperial army as lieutenant of dragoons. He was on active service in the French army for many years. In the Crimean War he distinguished himself at Balaklava, Inkerman, Teherin, and the siege of Sebastopol, and was decorated by the Sultan of Turkey with the order of Medjidia, was awarded the Crimean medal by the Queen of England, and was made a Knight of the Legion of Honor. Later as lieutenant and captain of

the Chasseurs d'Afrique he took part in the Algerian campaign of 1857. In the Italian campaign against Austria he served with distinction in the battles of Montebello and Solferino, receiving French and Italian decorations. In 1865 he was transferred to the Empress's dragoon guard. He afterward returned to the United States where, on September 7, 1871, he married Mrs. Caroline Edgar, *née* Appleton. He died in Massachusetts on September 4, 1893.

Jerome's greater age and absence from home left Charles practically in the situation of an only child in the household. He had no home companions of his own age and passed his infancy in association with persons of mature years. The natural effect of this intercourse was to give him methods of thought and speech far in advance of his age. While he was a solitary child he was never a lonely one. He was always sweet and gentle. He loved books and found delight in drawing maps on the floor and relating histories about them. His nurse, named Mammie, the widow of a Dutch sea captain, to whom he was warmly attached not only during his childhood, but as long as she lived, impressed upon him the necessity of always telling the truth, saying if he did not nobody would

ever have confidence in him. On one occasion, when his mother had told him she was not going out and later he discovered her going, he said in his prim and precise way: "Madame, you have lost my confidence." On festival occasions he usually spent the day at the house of his grandfather Patterson's brother, and while there, when he was about six years old, his host said to him: "You are a French boy, Charlie." "No," was the quick response, "I am an Amerquin boy." His love for America had been instilled into him by his mother and it continued with him, steadily increasing in fervor, till the day of his death.

When six years old he was sent to a French school, one directed by Monsieur and Madame Bujac at Tusculum, then a suburb of Baltimore, but now a part of the city. When his father asked him if he wished to go, he replied: "No, but I may as well make the best of it." The school was only two miles away and he returned home each week-end, riding on a pony that was sent for him, and he was always found at the window eagerly watching for its coming. He was a quiet, self-reliant little chap, perfectly content to amuse himself while alone, and ready "to make the best of it" under all conditions. He remained in the Bujac school for about six

years, where he was taught French, and during that time he wrote regularly to his father whose interest in him was deep and constant. Many of these childish letters are still in existence, having been carefully preserved by his father. They are curiously unchildlike in form and expression, but thoroughly characteristic of a boy who had lived entirely with persons older than himself. One of the first in the series was in French, and was written after he had been a few years in the school and had acquired a knowledge of that language:

"MON CHER PAPA, Tusculum.

"Je ne puis laisser passer cette époque de l'année sans vous témoigner l'amour que j'ai pour vous; et vous assurer que mon cœur fait bien des vœux pour votre santé et pour votre bonheur; ainsi que pour celui de mon cher frère, qui partage avec vous toute mon affection.

Votre fils dévoué

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE."

le 21 Dec. 1860.

(*Translation.*)

"MY DEAR PAPA: Tusculum.

"I cannot let this season of the year go by without declaring my love for you; and assur-

ing you that my heart wishes health and happiness for you and for my dear brother too, who shares with you all my affection.

Your devoted son,
CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE."

Subsequent letters were written indifferently in French and English, the child having acquired a facile use of both languages. Among the papers which the fond parents preserved with religious care is the following "Allegory," written by Charles when he was twelve years old:

"Every person when he enters life may be supposed to be on a level plateau between two roads, one ascending and the other descending, both very slippery. The road is life, the ascending section is called 'virtue' the descending one 'vice.' The level plateau is made of wood and is movable, but as long as the person is light enough it remains stationary. The name of the plateau is 'Childhood,' and it remains stationary until the person is increased in weight by a species of very heavy clothing called 'Reason,' which, at length, so increases the weight of the person that the plateau slides away from under him and leaves him standing on the slippery road. At the end of 'Virtue'

is a glorious City called 'Heaven,' and at the end of 'Vice' is a venomous plain of red hot iron called 'Hell.' Governing the great City is a good and wise King whose name is 'God,' and governing the red hot plain is a wicked fiend named 'Satan.' Of course, every one prefers to reach the splendid city rather than the red hot plain, but the road is so slippery that, alone, no one could ascend it, or even stay stationary, for by his own weight, he would commence to slide down 'Vice' until he is precipitated, from an immense precipice, into the red hot plain. So 'God' in order to help him up has sent three elastic ropes, called 'Faith,' 'Hope' and 'Charity.' The two first are fastened round his head, but the last is bound round his breast, and, if the person chooses, he can thus draw himself up to Heaven, but, if he does not go up, he must go down, and then, first, Charity, then Hope and then Faith, break, and he is hurled down into the red hot plain where he remains."

He was clearly a model pupil, displaying at that early age the same ability to acquire knowledge easily and quickly which distinguished him throughout his life. His teachers testified to his irreproachable conduct and his high standing in all his studies. The following letter to

his father, under date of June 27, 1863, gives evidence of his proficiency:

"MON CHER PÈRE, Tusculum, le 27 Juin, 1863.

"Comme j'ai écrit une lettre à ma mère, et deux à mon frère, j'ai peur que (vous) ne croyiez que je vous ai oublié; mais j'ai essayé de vous écrire plusieurs fois, et comme aujourd'hui est le dernier Samedi de l'année j'ai essayé encore une fois de vous écrire une petite lettre.

"J'ai reçu six prix, et j'espère qu'ils vous plairont et qu'ils plairont à ma chère mère aussi. Ils sont pour la bonne conduite, le français, l'anglais, le latin, l'arithmétique, et le dessin.

"Vous m'avez dit quand vous étiez ici que votre cheval Charlie était malade et j'espère qu'au moment où je vous écris qu'il n'est pas mort, car c'est un bon cheval qui vous a coûté cent quatre-vingt dollars.

Votre fils affectionné,
CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE."

(*Translation.*)

"MY DEAR FATHER, Tusculum, June 27, 1863.

"As I have written a letter to my mother and two to my brother, I am afraid you will think I have forgotten you; but I have tried

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE AT THE AGE OF FOUR

From a daguerreotype.

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE AT THE AGE OF SEVEN

From a daguerreotype.

to write you several times, and since today is the last Saturday of the year I am trying once more to write you a little letter.

"I have received six prizes which I hope will please you and my dear mother too. They are for good conduct, French, English, Latin, arithmetic and drawing.

"You told me when you were here that your horse Charlie was sick, and I hope at the moment I am writing you that he is not dead, for he is a good horse that cost you $180.

Your affectionate son,
CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE."

In another letter, written on March 18, 1864, he says of his studies: "They never fatigue me at all and I always have time for recreation."

His schooldays at Tusculum ended in June, 1864, with the hasty flight of Madame Bujac's husband to Canada. Charles sets forth the facts in the case in a letter to his father, who was then abroad, under date of June 26:

Baltimore, June 26, 1864.

"MY DEAR PA,

"I received your letter of the 9th, yesterday, together with one from my brother, which I will answer as soon as I can.

"I have to state some highly important

domestic news. Mr. Bujac has broken up his school, and has evaporated in the direction of Canada for fear of the draft, and, of course, this has created a great deal of confusion.

"Ma has, however, engaged Mr. Purcell, the former teacher at Mr. Bujac's, to give me lessons in Latin, Greek, English, and mathematics, and Mr. Rabillon to continue my French.

"I think that Mr. Bujac acted very foolishly, in leaving all his affairs unsettled, and bolting when there was no danger of his being drafted, he being physically unfit for it.

"Although I greatly regret that the school is broken up still I am very much pleased with the new order of things and being at home.

"With my love to brother, I remain, your affectionate son.

CHARLES."

During the next five years he studied for a time under private tutors, and in the Reverend George F. Morrison's school in Baltimore. His fellow pupils in the school said of him that he easily took and held front rank in everything. "Boney," said one of them in after-years, "was the most brilliant boy in the school. When he took a side in debate it always won."

CHAPTER III

COLLEGE LIFE

IN the autumn of 1869, Charles J. Bonaparte entered Harvard University as a junior, his studies having been so far advanced as to enable him to pass all the necessary examinations easily. From the time of entering to his graduation from the Law School in 1874, he wrote constantly to his parents and a record of his experiences at Cambridge can be compiled adequately from his letters. He entered the university at the moment when Doctor Eliot was beginning his long service as President, and it is interesting perhaps to quote what he wrote to his father in September about him: "He is not finding any very hearty goodwill on the part of the Faculty. He seems to be a very energetic person, has already made some changes, and contemplates many others, but is very cordially disliked by the professors." This recalls the lively description of the new President's proceedings which Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote to Motley at about the

same time: "Our new President, Eliot, has turned the whole University over like a flapjack."

From his early childhood to the end of his life, Bonaparte was a devoted Catholic, and it was quite natural for him to write to his mother in his first days at Harvard: "I have several times been to prayers but, as I sit near the door, I cannot hear what Dr. Peabody says at all. As he is a heretic, however, it is of no moment."

Early in his college career Bonaparte exhibited that interest in public affairs and that zeal for civil service and other reforms to which he devoted such intelligent energy in his afterlife. Writing to his mother, on November 12, 1870, he said of the elections of that month which had resulted in Democratic gains: "It is perfectly clear that no politician can ever be found to honestly execute the will of the people in regard to office holders. Politicians will never resign themselves to the destruction of the one means by which they have gained notoriety and retained their positions. Nor can any President, however respectable he may be before his presidency, be expected to resist the temptations brought against him by the corrupt and despicable class of men with whom he must associate. . . . I hope and believe that

the public mind and conscience are gradually waking up to the existence of this crying evil, that *at the moment of my entrance into life I may see the commencement of an agitation* which will end in placing morality and intelligence among the qualities which the American people demand in those who govern them."

He applied his reform principles to college politics, for in the same letter he wrote: "It is a curious instance of the way in which bad institutions influence the thought and morals of a nation that we have here in the choice of our class officers the same system of wire pulling, toadyism and lying that prevails on a larger scale in our national politics. The officers elected on Thursday were all chosen through, what I considered, very disgraceful and ungentlemanly means, and for the most important position, that of orator, we have a man who is one of the least popular persons in the class, and who certainly was not the choice of a fourth of those present at the meeting. I, of course, have had no part in this electioneering, and by way of marking my disapprobation of such proceedings, left the meeting with some of my friends before the voting began."

Later his protest against the methods employed took practical shape in the formation

of the Signet Society. Writing to his mother again on December 11, 1870, he said: "The Signet is a new Senior Society formed within the last few months, and consisting of some fifteen or twenty members among my friends in the class. I think I mentioned to you that the class election was conducted in a very discreditable manner. That such was the case was principally caused by the manipulation by a set of intriguers of the H. H. and Hasty Pudding Societies, the principal open societies in the College. I was so disgusted at the way in which these societies were run for the benefit of wire pullers and toadies that I went quite eagerly into a project to establish a society free from the influence of personal ambition and also from that of the secret fraternities that to a great extent control our class 'politics.' Out of this idea grew the Signet. It is a secret society, of course, but has the full support of the President and faculty, and if it becomes what we hope it will become, it will certainly be a force for good introduced into our College life."

This prediction was fulfilled by the subsequent career of the society, for, after passing safely through vicissitudes of various kinds, it has continued to exist to the present day, and is one of the most beneficent intellectual in-

fluences in the life of the university. In one of the catalogues of the society, that of 1903, Bonaparte wrote an account of its birth in which he said:

"The Signet came into being as an essentially militant body: it existed that it might protest against evils of the day at Harvard; and a sort of crusading, self-asserting spirit marked it from the beginning: a mild joke in the 'Harvard Advocate' suggested 'a seal rampant' as an emblem for the new society. It believed itself to have, however, and experience has shown that it had, in fact, a broader mission than merely to remedy abuses in the choice of officers for Class Day. Among the fifteen who joined it in 1871 were some who knew little, and cared less, about the disputes and intrigues which had preceded the class election, but who felt strongly that a college society ought not to be a school of frivolity or snobbery, still less one of wire-pulling, and that some societies then existing might be described, uncharitably perhaps, but not altogether untruthfully, as but little better. These men had in view to found a society which should choose its members for real merit of some sort, and not for accidental advantages or mere good fellowship, and should be for them a source of

moral and intellectual development, not of simple amusement.

"This idea has proved sound and fruitful; it has corrected, with the aid of time, the bitterness which caused the society's birth, and found expression in some of its early laws; it has prevented the profession of higher purpose, which it made, from degenerating into conceit and self-righteousness. We may smile a little after thirty years at the earnestness with which we did our work as founders, but after all it was work of which we need not feel ashamed."

Charles always had a great admiration for his brother Jerome who was in the French imperial army, and he maintained a regular correspondence with him. After the overthrow of Napoleon III in 1870, Jerome's situation was a critical one, and his brother's anxiety found frequent expression in his letters to his mother. Thus on November 26, 1870, he wrote:

"I continue perfectly well and very busy. I spend eight cents daily in newspapers, and peruse with avidity everything relating to Paris, but otherwise my mind is tranquil. All that I have to conduct is going on well, and in regard to other matters, we must only trust to Providence to bring out everything for the best."

Much difficulty was experienced in getting the letters from his family to Jerome, and in answer to some complaints on the subject which Mrs. Bonaparte had made to Charles, he, his civil-service-reform ideas as rampant as ever, wrote, on December 3, 1870:

"I think it would be very well for you not to send any more letters through the State Department. The officials are evidently unwilling to despatch them, and there is no certainty that they are really sent. Your indignation at the incivility of our rulers was reasonable, but founded on the erroneous idea that the public service is supported for the good of the Nation, and that those persons are chosen to conduct it who are fitted for the position. Nothing can be more absurd than such an idea. The government exists solely for the good of professional politicians, and its places are filled by such persons as are too dishonest or too imbecile to find support in any other manner.

"I sincerely trust that my poor brother may be saved from the perils that surround him and restored to our little family circle, but if Providence should decree otherwise, we must bear it as we have borne the other trials we have had to endure during this year, with quiet resignation. What he shall do in regard to a matter

concerning him alone, must be left, I think, solely to his own judgment."

The stern sense of justice, which he manifested so unflinchingly throughout his career, found early expression in a letter to his mother on December 17, 1870:

"There was a most outrageous proceeding here on Thursday night. A keg of powder was inserted between the rafters and the laths of the floor of the first story in Stoughton, and exploded by means of a fuse in the cellar. The injury done to the building was considerable, and it is a most extraordinary thing that it was not set on fire, and the Freshmen occupying the rooms over the powder killed. I was quite near the building at the time, and there were several persons about it who might have been very severely injured by the explosion, if in no other way, by the glass from the windows, which blew in all directions. The President asked us at prayers the next morning to aid the authorities in discovering the perpetrators of the outrage, and said they should be immediately expelled; but I think they should be indicted, as it is a criminal offence, and sent to the penitentiary, to learn there regard for the lives and property of their fellow beings."

The dominating influence which the "first

families of Boston" exerted at that time and for many years afterward upon the life of the university apparently had no terrors for him, for on January 21, 1871, he wrote to his mother:

"My conduct in not having any connection with the affairs of the class has excited much astonishment among those of the Aristocracy who have heard of it, and, when it is generally known, I think the amazement of the descendants of the Puritans will know no bounds. The average mind of a Bostonian cannot conceive of any less fortunate mortal's avoiding an occasion to be honored by their presence. As not a few members of the class intend to follow my example, I fancy Class Day may not be the most harmonious festivity in the world this year."

His militant loyalty to the Catholic Church was exhibited on all occasions, for then, as always during his life, he was its devoted disciple and champion. He wrote to his mother on February 18, 1871:

"Speaking of Holy Week reminds me to ask you to send on a copy of the Archbishop's pastoral letter in regard to the Infallibility dogma. I have numerous combats — oratorical ones — with the heretics at our table, who, although differing widely among themselves, and mu-

tually accusing each other of bigotry and unchristian tenets, all unite to assail the doctrines of the true church, valiantly defended by poor little me. The dogma of the Infallibility is the most tempting ground of assault, and I should like to refresh my memory in regard to some of the old Councils the Archbishop quotes in such numbers. I do not think the Catholics, although Heaven knows they are ignorant enough of the tenets of their foes, can be charged with an unusual amount of ignorance on the subject. It certainly is extraordinary that young men who can go to College should devoutly believe convents to be houses of prostitution, and mendacity a virtue in our creed; but there are such persons to be found here in great numbers. At our table we have one high church Episcopalian, one low church do., one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Lutheran, one Unitarian, one who has never been baptised, and one infidel, besides myself; you see, we form a very happy family."

Throughout his two years of college life he took high rank in all his studies. A member of the faculty said of him that he never came before that body except for honors. At the end he received the second highest honor at Commencement, as he described in a letter to his mother on March 4, 1871:

"The Commencement parts were given out on Thursday, and 'the child' received the Salutatory Address in Latin, a very complimentary, though also difficult, part. It is doubly complimentary in this case, as the Faculty gave it to me on trust without knowing my exact rank, which it is very necessary to know for this part, as it is one which must be performed, there being no other to choose from. The announcement of it has caused to some of my classmates more surprise than pleasure, as some of the high scholars were engaged in the conduct of the class elections, and my energetic denunciation of their proceedings has not increased their affection for me; besides which, if all Harvard students were not above such petty feelings, one might suspect some stray grains of envy to be scattered about. The part is not, however, an easy one to deliver, as it must be spoken first of all and in Latin, not a very easy thing for a young orator to satisfactorily perform. I suppose I shall have Miss Susan among my hearers. ['Miss Susan' was his favorite pet name for his mother.]

"As the different parts are assigned now only provisionally regarding the excellence of our performance during the rest of the year, I thought I would ask my different instructors

for my marks to see whether I was in great danger of losing mine. Although I could not obtain the exact marks, they all appeared to approach so near a maximum, that I concluded the danger was not very imminent."

High testimony to his standing in the university was given in a letter to his mother by Doctor A. P. Peabody, for many years Professor of Christian Morals at Harvard, the same Doctor Peabody that Charles had dubbed a "heretic" at the outset of his college career. Writing on July 11, 1871, Doctor Peabody said:

"I appreciate your intense solicitude for your elder son, and I most earnestly hope and pray, not only that he will be saved from all harm, but that the sad cause of your anxiety may be soon removed by the restoration of peace. For your son Charles you have no need that I should add to the good you know of him. There is not a member of College who has precedence of him in character, and in claims on the highest respect and honor, as there is certainly no one who excels him in substantial ability and valuable acquisitions."

CHAPTER IV

LAW SCHOOL

IMMEDIATELY following his graduation from the university, Charles entered the Harvard Law School, where his talents secured for him the same high rank that he had maintained in college. In fact, as he said in his early days at school, studies never fatigued him. The acquisition of knowledge was always an easy task, never a laborious one. It left him mentally fresh and eager for the consideration of the affairs of the world in general, and especially those of his own country. His letters to his mother during the three years in the Law School show how closely he was watching political developments in the nation and how firmly he was settling himself into the position he was to occupy in regard to political affairs and conduct in after-life.

The Presidential campaign of 1872 had no charms for him. He was profoundly dissatisfied with the administration of President Grant and quite unable to support the candidacy of Mr. Greeley. His state of mind was clearly revealed in a letter in October, 1872:

"We are discussing just now in the Parliament, a large debating society attached to the Law School, the question of whether Grant ought to be re-elected, and it is rather amusing to hear the excited harangues of his friends and enemies. I have not spoken, and do not expect to speak, for I have no enthusiasm either way and will not stultify myself by pretending to be most anxious for what I at best regard as but the less of two evils. It is a pity Miss Susan [his mother] cannot be a law student, she would give it to these ex-rebels who come North to study law and poison the air with their treasonable utterances. Wouldn't she?"

Writing again on October 12, he gave a further indication of his indifferent attitude:

"I see that the Greeleyites in Baltimore signalized their procession by a couple of murders and some similar playful demonstrations. They were in a bad humor, I fancy, with the results of the recent election which have certainly dished the Sage of Chappaqua as thoroughly as any one could wish. We had an extraordinary turn out of the Grant men the other night. They rode round the streets to the number of 300 or 400 dressed in white linen coats and bearing very long torches, and on a very dark night looked more like a procession of

ghosts than anything else that I can remember. Mr. Woods made us all illuminate our rooms as they went past, but I cannot say there was much enthusiasm in the household, except on the part of my young neighbor, the widow's son, whose patriotic ardour would have met with your entire approbation."

Of the result of the election in November, he had this to say in a letter on November 9:

"The election of Grant was what I expected, as did all men of common intelligence, after the October elections, but I was somewhat surprised at the immense majority, the largest known for many years at least. It is evident that Greeley brought weakness rather than strength to the Democracy, and that their grand surrender of principle to expediency at the Baltimore Convention was as unwise as immoral."

A letter written on February 22, 1873, is of especial interest, when taken in connection with those quoted above, as showing the thoroughly independent attitude toward political parties which he had already taken and which he maintained unvaryingly throughout his career:

"Today, although the birthday of the father of his Country, has not been celebrated in any remarkable manner in this vicinity. Indeed,

I hardly think it would be very consistent in a nation which tolerates such men as the Vice President, Senator Patterson, your friends Brooks and Oakes Ames to overflow with enthusiasm for the man who 'owned up' when he barked his father's cherry tree. Anniversaries are generally joyous occasions, but one which suggests a comparison between our present class of public men and those who founded this Republic and watched over its infancy, has a decidedly serious side."

His standing in the Law School is quite clearly revealed in a letter under date of June 15, 1873:

"I have passed three of my examinations pretty well, I fancy, and do not anticipate any trouble with the remaining two. You will be pleased to learn that one of my professors has expressed the opinion that I have a very clear head: do you not think he shows great penetration and soundness of judgment in his views on the subject?"

In the same letter he expresses some decidedly emphatic views upon certain works of fiction, not restraining himself in his indignation from administering a sharp rebuke to the Archbishop of his beloved Catholic Church:

"It would not be worth while to send me on the book lent, or to be lent, by the Archbishop

now, since I am to come on so soon, but I am very much surprised to learn that it is not a religious work, as I do not see common sense in his sending you any other. In your letter of the 30th ulto. you represent him as saying: 'I will send you a book which will, I think, suit you: there is nothing *mean*, hidden or subservient in its tone — *you will* like it, I am sure.' The adjectives here used seem to be without meaning as applied to a novel, though very applicable to a theological work. If the Archbishop, occupying a position of practical responsibility, passes his time reading works of fiction and distributing the frivolous lumber with idiotic comments to ladies whose age and position in society ought to insure them more reasonable treatment, it is putting it mildly to say that he is unfit for his present place. I need not say that, if the book is really a novel, I shall not want it at all: I have no time to waste on it."

This bitter hostility did not extend to all works of fiction, for he was extremely fond of the works of Dickens and Thackeray, and so devoted to "Pickwick" that he had it with him in college and carried it with him on all his travels till the day of his death.

CHAPTER V

CAREER AS A LAWYER

BONAPARTE was graduated from the Law School in 1874. Returning to Baltimore he was admitted to the bar in the autumn of that year and entered at once upon the practice of his profession. He took up his residence in the house which his father had built and in which he had been born, at 601 Park Avenue.

He was at this time in the twenty-fourth year of his age, in vigorous health and possessed of ample means for leading a life of ease and pleasure. Such a life was not only open to him, but was fairly inviting him to enter it. He had every qualification for it — an unusually pleasing personality and intellectual gifts of a high order. Yet it seems never to have attracted him. There is no sign in his correspondence with his parents previous to this time that he ever debated, even in his own mind, whether he should lead this sort of life or one of active labor. The Puritan strain in his blood left him no choice in the matter. There was

work to do in the world and he must bear his part in it. He was not only willing to bear his part but eager to do so.

Yet his wealth was in some important respects a handicap in his profession. He neither advertised nor made any other effort to secure clients, but was content to wait for clients to seek him. From the first those who came were persons in humble walks of life, of small means or of no means at all, who had been quick to grasp the notion that, being a man of wealth who did not need to earn money in the practice of his profession, he would aid them at much less cost than other lawyers. They came to him in steadily increasing numbers when it became known that he invariably granted their requests, when justice was on their side, giving his legal advice and services, usually without remuneration, and not infrequently at considerable cost to himself. As was said of him by his associates at the bar at the time of his death:

"No call of the helpless or of the wronged ever found him deaf to its appeal, and the more desperate the situation, the more forlorn the client, the more strenuous was his effort and the more unsparing his fight to secure the rights he found jeopardized, or to enforce atonement

for injuries inflicted. To every client, whether of high estate or low, as to every cause, whether great or small, he gave equally of his time, his ability, his learning and his experience, and many were the seemingly hopeless situations from which he rescued those who had confided their misfortunes to his protection."

A typical case was a suit for damages which he brought for a widow whose husband had been killed by falling from the scaffold of a building. There were very fine points in it as to the liability of the contractors and Bonaparte told the widow that the chances of winning it were so slight that he could not advise her to make an effort to raise money to defray the costs. He undertook it at his own expense, fought it tenaciously, lost it in the lower court, carried it to the appeal court, and lost it again, and footed all the bills himself. He had many cases of this kind and soon came to be regarded as the friend and champion of those who were unable to help themselves.

His humor was always cropping out. In a case in which he was seeking damages for a man upon whose head a brick had fallen from a chimney and had caused painful injury, the evidence showed that the man was probably intoxicated at the time. In his declaration of

the facts Bonaparte said the man "had seated himself there for reasons of bodily convenience." No less notable than his humor was his alertness in court. Lawyers opposed to him were always watching him for surprises. They never knew what he was going to do next, for he was marvellously quick in detecting points which he might turn to the benefit of his clients.

His contemporary lawyers all bear evidence to his courage under all conditions and to his equanimity, no matter what efforts were made to provoke him. He was always as serene as he was persistent, and to his persistence, when he once entered upon a struggle, all men knew there was no limit. In one case involving indirectly his own property, which continued through several years, all efforts to induce him to desist or compromise were unavailing. When his opponent said to him at the outset: "Mr. Bonaparte, I will see what Maryland justice will do for me." Bonaparte responded: "Very well; I guess you can find out." The case was fought to the Supreme Court with a final verdict in Bonaparte's favor. He said of this case that the fun he was getting out of it was worth all it cost him.

In another case, in which the opposing lawyer had adopted unprofessional methods, Bona-

parte had wished to bring charges to disbar him. The lawyer sent him an abusive letter which Bonaparte sent back to him with the inscription: "Returned to the coward who wrote it." That closed the incident. Bonaparte had taken boxing and fencing lessons while in Harvard and was prepared to defend himself against personal assault at any time. On one occasion when in a controversy the lie was passed a brief fistic encounter followed, which was quickly arrested by friends. When Bonaparte was discovered later he was soothing a damaged eye with a lump of ice and laughing softly to himself.

I am indebted to Mr. Paul M. Burnett of the Baltimore bar, who was closely associated with Mr. Bonaparte for many years in much of his most important litigation, for intimate and valuable information as to his ability and methods as a lawyer. "I regarded him," says Mr. Burnett, "as a resourceful and finished lawyer who had the ability at all times to present his cases in a masterful manner."

Bonaparte's first client was a Mrs. Melissa Smith, who came near lasting him throughout his life. Mr. Burnett thus describes her and her proceedings: "She came to him with a case against a prominent old gentleman of Balti-

more. This lady was a raw-boned North Carolina character, fearless and persistent. The energy with which the litigation was prosecuted is said to have caused the premature death of the defendant. Mrs. Smith then brought to Mr. Bonaparte some other deeds and title papers showing she had an interest in, or a 'color of title to,' some mountain property in North Carolina. Mr. Bonaparte advised her that her title could only be established by possession. She then armed herself with two army revolvers and departed for the wilds of North Carolina. She arrived Sunday morning and took possession of the property while the occupants were at church. Upon their return they faced an irate female with a pistol in each hand warning them not to approach and claiming title to the property. Litigation directed by Mr. Bonaparte followed, which resulted in establishing her claim, and she continued to live on the property until a few months before her death. She later became a professional litigant, encouraged by her successes with Mr. Bonaparte as her first attorney, and borrowed large sums of money from him by misrepresentation, giving inadequate security. Yet he never pressed her, never foreclosed on her property, never attempted to deprive her of her

home or the land she possessed, and when she died he sent a special messenger to North Carolina to have her properly and decently buried at his own expense."

Bonaparte's memory was the marvel of his contemporaries. Every Baltimore lawyer of his time will confirm what Mr. Burnett says on this point:

"His application of the law to the facts, or his ingenious arrangements of facts to suit his interpretation of the law, was as convincing as it was interesting. He had a fine legal mind and a most wonderful memory. He never forgot anything he had ever read. He never impressed me as being a student; he never gave any time to a study of the cases, yet he knew every one of them and the exact points decided. I never knew him to hesitate in giving a reference to a case deciding a point of law about which I might ask him, and he usually gave the number of the volume in which the case could be found and frequently the page. I never knew him to prepare a case in advance, always relying upon his wonderful memory for cases to support his theory of the law. Frequently in the midst of a case he would ask for a volume. With the greatest ease he could pick out just what was needed — his memory never failed him.

"In an important case involving the title to a strip of some of the most valuable land in the City, a volume of testimony had been taken and the case was ready for trial when Mr. Bonaparte was asked to assist in the argument. He knew nothing of the testimony other than a short statement of the facts leading up to the filing of the suit. He requested me to prepare a brief with references to cases supporting our theory of the law. The case involved title by prescription, ancient lights, abandonment of easements, water ways and sewers, a branch of the law very few lawyers are ever called upon to examine. I spent several days and nights with one of our most competent real estate lawyers looking up the law, and we thought we had collected all there was on the subject. Mr. Bonaparte examined our brief, and began an independent examination of the digests one-half hour before the argument began and in that time collected a number of new cases exactly in point, supporting every argument he advanced, and winning his case. His argument was most wonderful in that he was compelled to recite facts disclosed only in the large volume of testimony which I knew he had never read — yet he made no mistakes. His argument was clear, forceful, concise and convincing, and

neither was a point missed nor an advantage neglected."

An instance in point is cited by Mr. Burnett:

"While Mr. Bonaparte was Attorney General, during Roosevelt's Administration, he argued many important cases, including a number under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. No great amount of study or preparation was ever given to any of these cases. They were usually prepared for trial and the arguments formulated on the train between Baltimore and Washington. I recall a case argued in our Court of Appeals about this time. He had requested me to open with the facts about which he knew very little, and said he would close with the law. The Court was late in beginning our case, and as he was compelled to be in the Supreme Court the next day, he, at the last moment, reversed the order of things, and told me he would open with the facts and I could close with the law. How he became acquainted with the facts sufficiently to make a two hours' argument and steal all my thunder has remained a mystery to this day.

"Taking a case and doing his utmost for his client," [continues Mr. Burnett], "was to him a sacred duty. He told me once that when he took the oath upon his admission to the Bar,

it became his duty to represent a client who employed him to the best of his ability regardless of his personal feelings in the matter. In criminal cases he believed it his duty to do the utmost for his client, for even if he were guilty he was entitled to all the advantage offered by the law. I recall several very interesting criminal cases which Mr. Bonaparte won. In fact, I do not think he ever lost any of the criminal cases in which he was employed. On one occasion his services were sought by a society of Italians, who desired that one of their number be defended on the charge of assault of a particularly aggravated character. Mr. Bonaparte named his fee. The next day it was paid in small change piled on his desk. It was evident that Italian vendors of fruit and Italian tradesmen had contributed their small change to the fund. Mr. Bonaparte never labored harder in his life than at the trial. His defence of that Italian was brilliant. He never lost an advantage, never gave an inch, and never allowed the jury to think for one moment that he was not a firm believer in the innocence of his client. The jury promptly rendered a verdict of acquittal. This same spirit characterized all his efforts and in a case in which he defended a man tried on the charge of embezzlement, in which he

also secured an acquittal, the Commonwealth Attorney afterwards told me, it was the most brilliant defence he had ever heard in the Criminal Court, and that the trial of that case had been an education to him.

"Mr. Bonaparte did not like divorce cases, but he was employed in them occasionally. I recall one which was prominent in the Courts for years. He represented the outraged wife who was being sued by her husband. Mr. Bonaparte never fought harder than he did for that woman. That case was a continuous performance and could always be relied on for excitement. It was in 'full force and effect,' and proceeding at a lively and exciting pace, when one of the participants died. No person ever had a more conscientious and devoted representative than his client had in that cause.

"His keen sense of humor always enabled him to enjoy the funny and at times ridiculous situations which would occur in his trial practice. I recall a damage suit against a railroad in which our client was considerably damaged. Because of the crowded condition of the Court Dockets the case was pending for a year or more. It was finally called one Spring afternoon, and our client — a middle aged lady, had sufficiently recovered to appear in new Spring

finery. Mr. Bonaparte laughingly remarked that if she appeared before the jury the next day in that attire, she would lose her case. Some one repeated his remarks to her, and he was convulsed when she appeared the next morning dressed in shabby black and acting the part of a confirmed invalid. The verdict of the jury was substantial damages."

Of Bonaparte's cheerful and winning personality, Mr. Burnett writes:

"If Mr. Bonaparte ever became depressed from worry or disappointment, he never permitted it to change or affect his disposition. He looked on the bright side of everything, smiled at misfortune and laughed at adversity. He never permitted the most serious incidents of business to disturb his bright and happy disposition. He had trained himself to be an optimist; he had perfect control of himself, was never angry, never showed resentment, and was on all occasions the polished gentleman."

A striking tribute to Bonaparte's abilities as a lawyer was paid by Mr. William Cabell Bruce, one of the leaders of the Baltimore bar and an author of distinction, at the memorial services which were held by the bench and bar of the city at the time of his death:

"No one, I am sure, was ever brought into

contact with Mr. Bonaparte as a lawyer without realizing that he was an uncommonly able one, well worthy to become, as he became, an Attorney General of the United States. He was thoroughly conversant with all the learning of his vocation; he always came fully prepared to the trial of his cases; he never drafted a declaration or a bill in chancery, or a brief, except with the most vigilant and painstaking care, and but few of his contemporaries had the same power of presenting their propositions in language as fluent, clear and precise as his. I recall the fact that a few years ago, a very intelligent and cultivated member of the Maryland Bar, who had but recently taken up his residence in Baltimore, approached me just after Mr. Bonaparte had concluded an argument in an ordinary election case in the Court of Appeals and asked me who he was, saying that in his opinion this argument was one of the strongest and most striking that he had ever heard in a court of justice."

CHAPTER VI

MORALITY IN POLITICS

WHILE the law was Bonaparte's chosen profession and while he was destined to attain eminence and honor in the practice of it, the life struggle into which he threw his whole heart and mind was that which he outlined in that letter to his mother, quoted on a preceding page, in which he had expressed the hope and belief that at the moment of his entrance into life he might "see the commencement of an agitation which will end in placing morality and intelligence among the qualities which the American people demand in those who govern them." He not only saw the beginning of that agitation but was one of its prime movers. He was a pioneer in the struggle for civil-service reform, and one of its most eloquent and compelling champions for more than a quarter of a century, not resting for a moment, till the fight was won. The key-note of all his advocacy was expressed in his earliest utterances and constantly reiterated in all subsequent ones: "The principle of civil service reform is one of high morality." "Civil service reform is the application of morality and com-

mon sense to the choice and tenure of public servants."

It was the moral side of the case that he, with the stern, inflexible zeal of the Puritan strain in his blood, set forth on all occasions. There were other sides of the question but this was always the first. There were no two sets of morals, one for private and one for political and public life. A man could not be honest and respectable in private life and at the same time favor, or defend or profit by disreputable and corrupt methods in politics. "Honest men may honestly differ," he said, "as to protection and free trade, as to federal supremacy and State rights, as to gold currency and silver currency and paper currency, but honest men all think alike as to a free ballot and a fair count. If any man helps in, or winks at, or covers over any kind of cheating at the polls, that man is not a misinformed or misguided fellow citizen, to be argued with and shown his error. He is a scoundrel, and should be called a scoundrel and dealt with as a scoundrel by every honest man."

He stood inflexibly with Lowell:

> "In vain we call old notions fudge
> And bend our conscience to our dealing.
> The Ten Commandments will not budge,
> And stealing will continue stealing."

He was no preacher against sin, but a fearless denouncer of sinners. He did not rest with pointing out corruption in political methods, but he named the men who committed the acts of corruption. Rascals in all ages have viewed with complacency denunciation of sinners in the abstract; it is only when the preacher points the accusing finger and says: "Thou art the man!" that the trouble begins. Then all sinners agree in saying that the preacher is indulging in "personalities," and there is nothing so reprehensible in the eyes of a sinner as personalities when applied to himself. Bonaparte described political rascality and named the men who were guilty of or responsible for it, without fear or favor.

He had been only a short time in politics before he won a reputation for never letting up after he had once begun a fight when he believed it was against wrong. In this tenacity of purpose and absolute fearlessness there was revealed both his Corsican and his Puritan ancestry.

During the twenty years of his long fight against political corruption in Baltimore and Maryland it was only necessary to announce that Charles J. Bonaparte was to speak at a public meeting to have the hall crowded with

men and women. A common expression heard on the streets at such a time was: "Let's go down to-night and hear Bonaparte give it to 'em." And he never disappointed them. He "gave it to 'em" in his own peculiar way. He was entirely at home either on the platform or before a jury — always deliberate in manner, and always wearing the peculiar "Bonaparte smile." But that smile was a terror to the politicians whom he was wont to assail, for they knew what was behind it in the mouth of the speaker. With the most cheerful of faces, and in the manner of a man relating a pleasing anecdote, he proceeded to describe their nefarious dealings and pin upon them the brand of their sins. His familiarity with their records from the moment of their entry upon political activity, and his marvellous memory in retaining the minutest details of their proceedings, might well terrify them. There was not an act in the careers of the chief boss, Senator Gorman, or of his subordinates, that he did not know all about, and that he did not set forth with his whimsical smile and his quiet, biting humor for the edification of their fellow citizens. It was all done so gently and cheerfully that at times it even deceived its victims, for it is recorded of one of the Gorman "heelers" that

he was heard saying to another after a meeting: "Wasn't Bonaparte great?" To which the second responded: "Yes. If he wasn't for civil service I'd vote for him for anything." Yet cheerful and quiet as his oratory was, it was having so steady and powerful an influence in educating public opinion to a proper realization of the character of the business which the men whom he assailed were conducting that their downfall was only a question of time.

CHAPTER VII

FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT IN MARYLAND

IN 1874, when Bonaparte began the practice of law, conditions in Maryland had the well-established reputation of being the most corrupt in the land. In the city of Baltimore they rivalled the conditions in New York City during the worst days of Tammany rule. The designation "thoroughly rotten" applied truthfully to them. Bonaparte himself, in an article published in the *Forum* magazine in March, 1892, described the situation and the causes which had created it in the explicit manner characteristic of him:

"An inveterate malady of the body politic in Maryland is the indulgence of public opinion for offences against the freedom and purity of the suffrage. It is safe to say that a majority of those there holding prominent positions of public trust are widely and reasonably believed to have at some stage of their political career either taken part in fraud, bribery or violence at legal or primary elections, or knowingly ac-

cepted offices or nominations secured by such means. And of the really influential politicians, whether in or out of office, the big and little 'bosses' and members of 'rings' of various diameters, who are the State's true rulers, every one had been more or less implicated in scandals of this character, and nearly every one notoriously owes his power to dexterity and success in falsifying the expression of the people's or of his party's will at the polls.

"Many of these men have criminal records; those who have not are indebted for immunity, not to any public belief in their innocence, not even, in most cases, to the want of tangible evidence against them, but simply to their 'pull.' Whether technically criminals or not, they are the allies and patrons of habitual lawbreakers. Try to prosecute a gambler or a brothel-keeper or offender against the liquor laws, and you are morally certain to find him shielded by the influence of some politician."

In an address which he delivered at about the same time he said:

"It is no exaggeration of language to say that saloons and gambling houses and brothels are here nurseries for 'statesmen,' that the active hostility of their keepers is, if not fatal, at least a grave impediment to success in public

life, and that men and women who gain their living by habitually breaking the laws have a potent voice in selecting the public servants, who make, interpret and execute those laws. The proprietor of a 'dive' may be of one party or the other; neither enjoys a monopoly of this desirable constituency, but, whatever his politics, he is almost certainly a power at the primaries and a factor in the vote of his precinct; only practical experience can teach how much these facts aggravate the task of bringing him to punishment."

He quoted from a debate in Congress in April, 1794, to show that at that early period the ballot-box had been greatly corrupted, and the free exercise of the franchise had been prevented. The corruption of later times he attributed mainly to the peculiar situation of Maryland as a Border State in the Civil War. "During the war," he said; "Maryland was virtually a conquered territory. There existed, especially in the western and central counties and in Baltimore, a strong and highly respectable Union sentiment, but, even where they were most numerous, Union men were probably a minority, and there is little doubt that, had she been left to herself, the State would have drifted into fellowship with her revolted sisters.

But she was not, and, in the nature of things, she could not be left to herself. Before an ordinance of secession could be passed or any overt act of rebellion (beyond a mere street riot on April 19, 1861) could be perpetrated, all points of strategic value had been occupied by the national forces, and a strong garrison posted where it should control every important centre.

"In name, therefore, Maryland was a loyal state, and, as a matter of fact she contributed her fair share, both in men and in money to the war; but none knew better than Mr. Lincoln and his advisers that this outward loyalty expressed by no means the true sentiments of a majority among her people."

To put the minority in possession of the state government it was necessary to virtually disfranchise the hostile majority through arbitrary arrests, deportations beyond the lines, presence of military at the polls, and other like means, which were defended by the argument *salus populi suprema lex.* These proceedings created in the suppressed majority a sense of unjust treatment and a determination to retaliate when occasion arose which destroyed respect for law and bred a readiness to adopt questionable means to regain their rights. "In this state of public feeling the constitutional con-

vention of 1864 was called. It was not a really representative body, and its high-handed action, not only in providing for the disfranchisement of sympathisers with the rebellion, but also in applying in advance these disqualifications to those who should vote upon the acceptance or rejection of the constitution it prepared, can be justified, if at all, only as a war measure in a time of revolution. Even with the disqualifications enforced, it is extremely doubtful whether the constitution was not after all rejected on a fair count of the votes actually cast."

In conclusion, Bonaparte with that fair-mindedness and freedom from partisan bias which were his distinguishing characteristics, said:

"The Maryland democracy returned to power bound in consistency to condone corrupt bargains in politics and to look with leniency on official perjury and the disregard by officers of registration and election of their own plain and sworn duty under the law and of the safeguards for preserving the suffrage to those only legally entitled to exercise it. It is not surprising that from this origin to its renewed ascendency should flow as consequences the gradual usurpation of power within the party

by men not over nice in matters of morality or honor, that complaints of fraud and disorder at elections should once more become chronic, or that on at least two occasions (at the general election of 1875 and at the municipal election of 1885) the people's will should have been defeated by the misconduct of the officers appointed to register it."

The condition of political affairs which existed at the time of the general election in 1875 was graphically described by Bonaparte in an address which he delivered in 1895:

"Through its absolute control of the state and municipal patronage the Democratic Ring was able to maintain in Baltimore at the people's cost a small standing army of experts in election frauds and professional ruffians, unreservedly subject to its orders and prepared to furnish any reasonable majority which could be required for its safety under normal conditions; whilst it could likewise assure them almost certain immunity from punishment for their crimes committed in its interest."

It was the exercise of these powers over the election in 1875 which defeated several legislative candidates who retained Bonaparte as counsel and contested the election before the legislature. In arguing these cases he made

his first entrance upon the long struggle for honest politics and honest conduct in public office. As the legislators before whom he made his argument had themselves profited by the frauds, they decided against him, but he proved before the public the existence of the frauds, and thus scored the first of a long series of moral victories which resulted ultimately in the overthrow of the Ring. From this time he became the leader of the reformers and pursued the same method after each election. For twenty years the fight was kept up with unflagging zeal and unfaltering purpose. The reformers went down in defeat in election after election, but after every election, Bonaparte laid the evidence of frauds before the public, proved the case, and while he could get no redress from the legislature or the courts, he convicted the criminals before the people and thus created popular sentiment against them and their acts. His associates and followers steadily increased until they became formidable in numbers and quality. Chief among them were Severn Teackle Wallis and John K. Cowen, two Democrats of the highest character, and legal and oratorical ability of the first order, each of whom had a large and devoted following. The three men formed as powerful a trio of leaders as ever blessed a misgoverned city.

In 1881, Bonaparte assisted in founding the Civil Service Reform League of Maryland and the National Civil Service Reform League and was a recognized leader in both organizations till his death. In 1885, in company with Mr. Wallis, he was one of the founders of the Baltimore Reform League and became its chairman. In the same year he was one of the founders of a weekly paper in Baltimore, called *The Civil Service Reformer*, which was the official organ of the Maryland Civil Service League, and to which he was a regular contributor as well as its largest financial supporter. It was edited till 1889 by Francis Carey and subsequently by John Helmsley Johnson. In 1892, it was merged with *Good Government*, the official organ of the National Civil Service Reform League, and ceased to exist as a separate publication.

All these agencies were of powerful assistance in the long struggle which was an educational crusade for arousing the public conscience. The battle was won in the election of 1895. An independent press had been developed in the meantime and the reformers, with Bonaparte at their head, made an enthusiastic and determined campaign. Bonaparte had been appointed to the only public office he had ever held in the city or state, that of a supervisor of elec-

tions. The Democratic governor was reluctant to appoint him, but consented to do so when thousands of citizens at a public meeting had risen to their feet and demanded it. This action had been taken after Bonaparte, who was seated on the platform but had not been expected to speak, arose, in response to calls for him from all parts of the house, and advancing to the front said in his peculiar manner: "I hope you will allow me to take my seat on the platform. I am sure I shall not be permitted to take my seat on the Board of Elections." It was the briefest speech he ever made and the most effective.

Bonaparte was quick and resolute in realizing the possibilities of the office. He was associated with two Democrats who outvoted him on every occasion. At the first meeting of the board he moved that newspaper men be admitted to the proceedings, but was promptly voted down. He mentioned the fact to the public and an indignant protest from the press immediately followed. He recommended the dismissal of certain dishonest election officials. When this was voted down, he furnished the newspapers with proof of the unworthiness of those officials. He next proposed the dismissal of the counsel of the board, stating in a reso-

lution the evidence which showed the counsel's unfitness for the position because of his corrupt character. When this was voted down, the text of the resolution was published in the newspapers, and his two Democratic associates were convicted of holding an unfit man in the position, thereby incriminating themselves. On the day preceding election the two Democratic members issued their usual perfunctory and insincere instructions to voters. Bonaparte issued separate ones of his own, in which he explained the law, stated in detail the penalties for violations of it and the plans that had been made for detecting violators and showed the strong probabilities that they would be prosecuted and sent to prison.

During the campaign, the Baltimore Reform League, under the direction of its counsel, John C. Rose, who in 1910 became the Presiding Judge of the U. S. District Court in Maryland, purged the registration books of the names of thousands of fraudulent voters who as repeaters had been of great service in carrying elections for the Ring. The result of these combined efforts was that in 1895 there was an honest election for the first time in a quarter of a century or more, and the reformers were victorious in both Baltimore and Maryland. During

the long struggle which resulted in this victory, a reform ballot law of the Australian type, a civil-service law, and a corrupt-practice act had been added to the statutes of Maryland. A great triumph for "high morality" in politics had been won, and by unanimous consent the chief honors for the victory rested with Charles J. Bonaparte. As one of the speakers at the memorial services which followed his death, Mr. George R. Gaither, said: "The political life of Baltimore and Maryland is immeasurably purer and better today than it was fifty years ago, and that progress is largely due to Charles J. Bonaparte and the men who fought with him."

CHAPTER VIII

HIGH STANDARDS IN NATIONAL POLITICS

BONAPARTE'S labors for higher standards of public life were by no means confined to his native city and state. The National Civil Service Reform League and the like league in Maryland were formed in the same year, 1881, and he was a founder in both. From the first he became one of the most active leaders and influential orators in the National League, and during the quarter of a century that followed his voice was heard in all parts of the Union, and it was the same voice everywhere, lifted always for morality and intelligence in politics and public service. The dominant note in his addresses can be best revealed by brief quotations from some of the later ones.

Speaking before the Catholic University of America, on November 5, 1891, he made this reply to the notorious remark of a one-time quite prominent Senator from Kansas:

"A little more than a year ago a well known public man said in a speech widely published:

'The Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign.' So far is it from true that the system of Christian morality, compendiously expressed in the Decalogue and the Golden Rule, has no place in political life of a self-governing people, that this is the very field of all others for its application. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation,' whatever its form of government, for righteousness is strength; but a nation that rules itself *must* be righteous, or else it will either cease to rule itself or cease to be a nation."

In like vein he said in an address in November, 1922:

"A story is told of a well-known professional politician in my native city, who, notwithstanding a very humble origin and a very imperfect education, has acquired great influence and accumulated considerable wealth by the merits and practices common and approved among those of his calling. He professes the same form of Christianity that I do, and, on his return from Church early one Sunday morning, is said to have been met by a newspaper reporter, who remarked to him, in substance: 'Mr. A., I do not understand how so regular an attendant at Church as you are can be also so great an adept in "stuffing" ballot boxes, "fixing" juries

and witnesses and "plugging" corporations.' 'Mr. B.,' replied the statesman, 'I never mix up politics and religion.'

"A Christian man cannot draw a sponge over his record as a member of civil society; a Christian Church cannot escape dealing with evils such as these by closing her eyes to their existence. Men like the one quoted have made their trade so dangerous, so odious, so noisome that against it every force in our midst that makes for righteousness will be directed to-morrow, if it is not today."

Speaking in May, 1895, of the course that reformers should follow, he showed the thoroughly practical nature of his attitude in the matter, for he did not belong to what Roosevelt was wont to call the "lunatic fringe" of reformers:

"Those who have leisure and learning and a facile pen can with great profit to all of us write monographs and pamphlets and magazine articles on proportional representation and the *referendum* and the Gothenburg liquor system and their work will tell in time, but, while they read and think and write, this rascal has been nominated by a packed convention chosen at fraudulent primaries, and that rascal has been caught with his arms up to his elbow in the

people's money box, and the ordinary every-day citizen is saying, with our old friend Tweed: 'Well, what are you, you reformers, going to do about it?' The question is a fair one, for in the cases supposed, and they occur daily, there is something to be *done*, and, I must add, that reformers are too often prone to overlook this necessity. The beauties visible to the eye of faith in the more or less distant day of practical acceptance, in no wise help us to deal with the scoundrel who yonder winks and leers at us while he pockets the salary we pay. He must be handled *now*, not in the future Golden Age, and if we wait until he and his kind have voluntarily made their own prosperity and continued existence impossible, we shall wait long and very much to his and their satisfaction."

He was a firm believer in the dictum that every nation of free people gets the kind of government it deserves. In a speech on March 24, 1897, he said:

"To have a good popular government we must, first of all, and before all else, have good citizens. Burke's well-known words have been often quoted; they have been even quoted more than once by me; but we cannot too steadily remember, that, as he said, 'there never

was *long* a corrupt government of a virtuous people.' When we find any self-governing community afflicted with misgovernment, we can safely and fairly believe that it does not deserve a better fate. It may indeed *wish* to be well governed, just as many a drunkard, in his seasons of repentance and headache, wishes he were temperate, just as many a defaulter, as yet undetected, in saner moments wishes he could repay what he has taken, and feel himself once more an honest man. But, as such men do not wish hard enough to keep away, the first, from the bar, the second, from the faro table or Wall Street, so such a Nation, State or City does not wish hard enough for good government to make bad government impossible."

He returned to this subject in his Phi Beta Kappa address on "Our National Dangers," at Harvard University on June 29, 1899, saying:

"Washington affirms that 'virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government.' We have abandoned the government he founded to the Boss and the Ring. These powers of darkness would have men ignorant and vicious, pressed by want and rebellious to law, because of such men they make their dupes and tools. They are the common enemies of all who war

against sin and suffering, for amid a people happy through righteousness they could not live. They protect and foster every degrading pursuit, every noxious industry, every dangerous and shameful calling, as training-schools for their followers and resources for their fisc. We know them and their works, yet we endure them as our rulers, and we have endured them for many weary years: it is as true now as it was when Burke said it, that 'there never was *long* a corrupt government of a virtuous people.' "

His familiarity with the characters of his favorite author, Dickens, is revealed in a passage from a speech on February 3, 1900:

"My subject today was suggested to my mind by the statement attributed to an eminent personage that he 'had rather be a patriot than a pessimist.' If our public men, and especially its alleged author, could be reasonably supposed to always use words with a clear and adequate idea of their meanings, this remark would not, indeed, merit your attention, unless perhaps for being unusually silly; since, in the first place, no sensible man ever wished to be a pessimist, any more than he wished to be a dyspeptic, and, secondly, pessimism is no more inconsistent with patriotism than it is with

piety or good morals: a Mrs. Gummidge of either sex, 'a lone, lorn creetur' with whom 'everythink goes contrary' often bemoans with a perfectly genuine grief the country's rapid progress towards Mr. Mantalini's 'demnition bow-wows.' "

One of the most thoughtful and carefully prepared of his many addresses, and one in which he reached a high level of eloquence was that delivered at Concord, Mass., on the 125th anniversary of the Concord fight, April 19, 1900. He had regarded the invitation to make it as an honor, and had accepted it with pleasure as giving him an opportunity to express sentiments which were near to his heart. Its opening passage was a fitting key-note of what followed:

"To-day we look to the rock whence we were hewn: we praise famous men and our fathers that begat us, because, through what they did and suffered on this day, the American Nation was born. On the vigil of that great birthday the dwellers in this land were, in truth, 'Englishmen of New England:' ere the next sunset they owned and assured to their children hopes and memories, thoughts of pride and sadness, in brief, a national consciousness, wherein Englishmen could have no part: on that evening

Englishmen in New England were strangers and enemies. The story which gives meaning to our meeting is now an old story, but again it claims a hearing, for it tells us how and why we are Americans."

After reviewing the battle he continued:

"From the story of Concord Fight our thoughts turn naturally to the American Revolution. To form any fair judgment of its fruits to mankind, much more to adequately discuss them, one should live later than our time or be gifted with seraphic foresight. The myriad streams of human destiny flowing from that fountain-head may have but begun their course; as they bear us and our brethren onwards, we may guess and dream and prophesy whither they sweep us, but, as to the appointed end and way the wisest man can but answer with the prophet and the wisest will be first to thus answer: 'O Lord God! Thou knowest.' We may, however, note its characteristics, for the world has now seen many revolutions, and among these that one wrought by our fathers, that one which fashioned us as we are made, had features which set it apart from others, and to which we, at least, may with profit pay heed.

"First, let us bear in mind that it was preeminently practical; those who fought and

suffered to consummate it knew precisely for what they fought and suffered. There was nothing gorgeously, seductively vague in their aims; their goal was seen clearly, not shadowed by clouds. To a sentimentalist the quarrel might seem commonplace, even sordid; it was a question of money; should the King put his hand in their pockets? That was the issue. Doubtless they spent to resist him a thousand pounds for every penny he asked of them, but yet the American Revolution was essentially a revolution of taxpayers.

"Secondly, our Revolution was, perhaps, of all those known to history the most conservative. Our fathers ceased to be Englishmen because thus only could they safeguard to themselves and their children the traditional rights of Englishmen which their fathers had bequeathed them. . . . They were no reckless innovators; ancient customs should prevail, but, with men of their blood and speech, freedom is the most ancient of customs. Of time immemorial Englishmen had ever claimed and exercised the right to tax themselves; they had given of their substance to their rulers as their own conscience and best judgment bade them; were Englishmen less apt for freedom when they had crossed the seas? Was their

birthright lost on the passage, or were they unworthy to rule themselves because, unaided, they had subdued a wilderness and added a realm to the King's dominions? King George was the innovator; they fought against him to defend rights consecrated by antiquity, no less than by justice. And, remember well, they fought for *their* rights, not the rights of all men or of any other men."

His own liberal religious opinions and complete absence from bigotry were revealed in these passages:

"Of yet more moment is it to note that the American Revolution was the work of men whose lives were moulded by belief in revealed religion. When Amos Melvin rang the alarm bell, the first man to answer his summons was the minister, William Emerson, his gun on his shoulder; his act bore testimony to the patriotism of his class and their prominence in the assertion of popular rights: throughout New England almost every pulpit was a rostrum, every preacher a tribune of the people. And as, in this struggle, piety gladly lent a hand to patriotism, so patriotism claimed earnestly and confidently the support of piety. The minute-man was not an atheist or an agnostic or an unbeliever of any shade or form. He

had not, indeed, seen the Reign of Terror or the Commune, but, before their day, he knew their lesson. For him it was no matter of doubt that except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh in vain; he disowned his King on earth in the name of the King of Kings in Heaven.

"A significant contrast may be here noted. The men who resisted Charles I were inspired by a profound and lively religious faith; this is no less true of those who resisted George III. But the English Civil War inflamed fanaticism and sectarian hatred, and ended, at least for the moment, in spiritual tyranny; the American Revolution served, more, perhaps, than any other event of history, to rebuke intolerance and soften bigotry; among its fruits was and remains a freedom to worship God surpassing any which the Old World had known until taught by the example of the New."

Bonaparte's opinion of "Bosses" was revealed in a speech on April 1, 1901:

"What then is a boss? When our present Vice-President was asked by a reporter some years ago whether he had anything to say regarding the results of a certain election, he is said to have replied: 'Nothing fit for publica-

tion.' I suspect most persons, or, at least, most good citizens, would answer my question in the character of language which might have served to relieve his feelings, and I should be lenient towards vituperation, or even profanity in this connection were they coupled with accuracy in expression as the fruit of clearness of thought. Unfortunately a great many people understand enough about bosses in general and yet more about some boss in particular to swear fervently at him and them who would yet be puzzled to say precisely what they meant by the name."

He did not even spare the President of the United States, when he thought he deserved censure. Speaking on April 26, 1893, he said:

"The President as first servant of the people chooses, or ought to choose, an immense number of under-servants to help him in his work. Their offices no more belong to him than does the foundation of the White House; and he has as little right, either in law or morals, to place one at the disposal of a complaisant Congressman, as to reward the latter for his vote with a piano or a painting for which the treasury has paid. Bishop Latimer called bribery 'a princely kind of thieving'; it may have seemed so in his day, but I, at least, see little room for

the adjective, when the President of the United States uses his patronage as a huge corruption fund to repay official perjury and breach of public trust in the National Legislature."

His views on woman suffrage, expressed on June 4, 1904, will strike many observers as prophetic after a few years of experience of its operation:

"You have all heard more or less discussion as to whether women should have the right to vote: I do not propose to take any part in that discussion, at least this morning. Perhaps female suffrage would be a good thing; perhaps it would be a bad thing; perhaps, were it introduced, we should find, when we got used to the change, that it had left matters much as it found them and made little difference whether for good or ill."

In a speech in April, 1905, he said:

"It is surely more odious and more noxious to bribe with what is the people's than with what is one's own, to purchase suffrage or influence at the taxpayer's cost, than to pay for these out of the corruptor's pocket. A man who filled up his store or factory with workmen chosen because they agreed with him about the currency or the Philippines, and changed whenever their places were needed for more ef-

fective political workers would probably get into a straight-jacket even before he got into bankruptcy."

In politics Bonaparte was a Republican, because, he said: "I regard the Republican party as, on the whole, and allowing for many imperfections, a sound, healthy and generally safe party and a good instrument of government. Yet I have never hesitated to condemn Republican utterances, candidates or public men when I thought such criticism was demanded by my duty as a citizen." He did not accept the doctrine of the politician who, when confronted with evidence of corrupt conduct in a public official, asked: "Whose d——d rascal is he? Ours or the other party's?" In the speech last quoted, he made his position on this point sufficiently clear:

"Those who hate and would undo Civil Service Reform may indeed call themselves here 'Republicans,' there 'Democrats,' just as train robbers may wear black masks for one holdup and white masks for another, but such trade marks do not change the man. It is related that when General Bourmont was presented to Blücher, the latter, a man of violent prejudices but a thorough soldier, indicated his professional contempt for a deserter so unmistakably as to

embarrass his more diplomatic staff. One of them, thinking it might please his commander, pointed out the enormous white cockade which Bourmont ostentatiously wore in proof of devotion to Legitimist principles. 'Bosh!' said the old Field Marshal. 'That doesn't matter. A blackguard stays a blackguard however you may label him.' "

CHAPTER IX

EARLY ASSOCIATION WITH ROOSEVELT

BONAPARTE'S acquaintance with Theodore Roosevelt began soon after the formation of the National Civil Service Reform League in 1881. Roosevelt was graduated from Harvard the year before, and became almost immediately a member of the new organization with whose purpose he was in hearty accord. Between him and Bonaparte there was at once a mutual attraction. Both were well-born, both were animated by the same sense of public duty, and both had chosen a life of active work rather than a life of idleness. Roosevelt was not, like Bonaparte, a man of large wealth. He had inherited property which afforded him an income sufficient for ordinary needs. As he says in his "Autobiography," he could afford to make earning money the secondary instead of the primary object of his career. The bond between him and Bonaparte was the deep-lying conviction that political methods and standards of the day were corrupt and debasing, and that it was the duty of every

patriotic American to do his utmost to reform them. For years the two men worked side by side in perfect harmony and with a steadily growing mutual attachment.

It was while Roosevelt was a member of the National Civil Service Commission that he got his first glimpse of Bonaparte's qualities as a relentless enemy of political rascals. Roosevelt in the summer of 1891, as a member of the Civil Service Commission, went to Baltimore and personally conducted an investigation of the Federal offices in that city. In this work, the intimate knowledge and untiring zeal of Bonaparte were of incalculable value to him. The revelations of political crookedness in the various offices were startling, and in a report of the inquiry which Roosevelt made and which the President sent to Congress in August, 1891, he recommended the dismissal of twenty-five officials for misconduct, saying of the various Federal offices that in them the "public service was treated as a bribery chest from which to reward influential ward-workers who were likely to be useful to the faction in power." Among the offices investigated was the Baltimore post-office, and Roosevelt's strictures upon its conduct excited the ire of John Wanamaker, who was the Postmaster-General, and a lively con-

troversy ensued, out of which Roosevelt emerged triumphant.

In this Baltimore inquiry Roosevelt got his first knowledge of Bonaparte as a "fighting lawyer," a species dear to his heart, and from that time forward he availed himself of every opportunity to secure his services for the government. After he became President in 1901, he kept Bonaparte almost continually in service in one capacity or another. In 1902 he made him a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, where he speedily displayed his usefulness. When charges were made against one of the local commissions in the Indian territory, in 1903, Roosevelt appointed Bonaparte to conduct an investigation of them. With Clinton B. Woodruff as assistant, Bonaparte went to the Indian territory, conducted a searching inquiry, and in March, 1904, made a report in which was recommended the abolition of the local commission. The case as presented in the report was so strong and convincing that Congress abolished the commission. Bonaparte's hand was easily discernible in the report. It did not use gentle or equivocal language. "Conditions in the Indian Territory," it said, "involve immediate danger of ruin to the genuine Indian population and profound discredit to

the United States, excite reasonable discontent on the part of all classes of the population and demand prompt and drastic remedies on the part of Congress." This report led, in fact, to a radical change in the government's Indian policy.

In addition to this Indian service, Roosevelt appointed Bonaparte in September, 1903, special counsel in the prosecution of men who had been charged with frauds in the postal service and in this work he was as successful as in all others, for indictments were found and convictions secured. So thoroughly did Bonaparte "make good" in the estimation of Roosevelt that his promotion to the Cabinet was only a question of time. Bonaparte's prominence in the public eye at this time was sufficient to start a report in the press that he would be a candidate for the Senate from Maryland in the next election. To this he replied with his customary directness: "I am not a candidate for the Senate, or for any other public office, never have been, and, so far as I can now see, never shall be."

In the Presidential campaign of 1904, Bonaparte was for the only time in his life a candidate for an elective office. He headed the list of Republican Presidential electors, and was

the only man on that ticket elected, casting his vote for Roosevelt, the only Republican vote cast in Maryland, all the others being Democratic. It was the first test his popularity in the state was ever put to, and the result showed that in spite of the fact that he had never sought to be a popular man, and in spite also of the bitter hatred his opposition to their political methods had aroused among the politicians of the state, the people of the state had faith in him and were glad of the opportunity to testify to it. He himself, however, with his habitual modesty, held that his large vote was due to the fact that his name stood first on the ballot.

In December, 1904, Roosevelt, remembering the condition of affairs he discovered in the Baltimore post-office in 1901, asked Bonaparte to recommend a good man for him to appoint postmaster. Bonaparte recommended W. Hall Harris, one of the leading lawyers of the city and a man of excellent reputation, and Roosevelt appointed him in the face of the opposition of the entire Republican organization of the state. This was unmistakable notice to the politicians of the close relationship which had been established between the President and Bonaparte, and the effect was one of consterna-

tion. The outcry in the press and among the politicians was tremendous. A cartoon was published in one of the Baltimore papers, entitled "A New Boss in Town," in which Bonaparte was represented seated, with a crown on his head, and on the walls of the room were portraits of Gorman and the old bosses, including Rasin, the city boss, who for many years had controlled all the offices. Bonaparte sent a copy of the cartoon to the President who responded in this characteristic letter:

White House,
Washington.
December 28, 1904.

"MY DEAR BONAPARTE:

"I have your letter of the 27th enclosing newspaper clippings. If you are as well pleased as I am with the Baltimore postmastership, you are entirely satisfied. I was delighted with the picture of you as the crowned king. Hail, oh successor of Rasin!

Sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

CHAPTER X

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

ALTHOUGH there is good reason for believing that President Roosevelt had made up his mind to ask Bonaparte to enter his Cabinet whenever a vacancy should occur, the possibility of such preferment seems never to have suggested itself to Bonaparte. He said afterward that in May, 1905, he saw the President by appointment when "without my having any intimation of his purpose he asked me to enter his Cabinet. I was completely surprised by his proposal and told him I must defer my reply." Two days later, May 21, 1905, he wrote to the President accepting the offer in a letter which is of interest as revealing with characteristic frankness his attitude toward public office:

"I have given very careful thought to your suggestion of Friday last. It is needless, I think, for me to repeat that, as I told you then, I appreciate highly the compliment or, to speak more accurately, the opinion, on your part, implied in this suggestion: I feel, however, as

I told you likewise, no little reluctance to thus enter public life. My reasons are that it will oblige me to relinquish active participation in certain movements which greatly interest me, to give up a part of my professional business, to incur expense probably in excess of my official compensation, to break up established habits of life, to which I am even more wedded than a man of fifty-four might reasonably be, and (what, in truth, touches me most deeply) to surrender my liberty,— the liberty of saying what I think of public affairs without the trammels of official propriety and responsibility. These reasons, which I have stated frankly because I think you are entitled to know what they are, do not satisfy my own conscience as sufficient to justify a refusal to aid you in the discharge of your public duties, if you ask my aid; I feel that I should be estopped by such a refusal to find fault with the present Administration hereafter, and I therefore place myself at your disposal."

In the same letter he disclosed the avowed intention of the President to appoint him later to the position of Attorney-General:

"With respect to the office I may fill, my personal preference would be to await Mr. Moody's retirement and then, if your views

remain unchanged, become his successor. I understood you, however, on Friday (although I do not know that you said this *totidem verbis*) to consider it desirable to announce promptly the approaching vacancy in the Navy Department, and that a simultaneous announcement of my selection to fill this vacancy might have a beneficial effect on public opinion. If I understood you aright as to this, I am willing to undertake the duties of Secretary of the Navy as soon after July 1st as you may deem advisable: next to the Department of Justice, this would be my choice among the Cabinet positions. Whether I shall retain it or be transferred to the last mentioned Department when Mr. Moody resigns, you can decide when that times comes: after I have been 'broken in' to my work and interested in it, I shall be, I feel confident, at least willing to remain at my first post of duty. It is perhaps proper to say, in this connection, that I am in hearty sympathy with your frequently expressed views as to the importance and, indeed, necessity of a very strong and very efficient Navy to the United States.

"There is one point to which your attention may not have been called: I should not be surprised if some opposition to my confirmation

were developed in the Senate. Probably few Senators know much about me, but those who do, are not, I suspect, likely to think me a suitable person for high office. Both Senators from my own State are personally (as well as politically) hostile to me; and, although, since they are Democrats, this will not be, I suppose, a very serious feature of the situation, some of their Republican colleagues may very possibly sympathize with their sentiments. I know you would not expect or desire me to turn a finger to secure confirmation: I shall be altogether indifferent as to the incidents, or results of such opposition, should it arise, and I contemplate its possibility with entire complacency; but I am not sure that you will consider it advisable to raise an issue of this character with the Senate. Perhaps there is no serious danger that it will be raised; I think, however, this element of the situation ought to be submitted to you."

In reply, the President wrote on May 22, 1905:

"Naturally your letter pleased me very much. I understand your feelings exactly, and appreciate your acceptance. As for the confirmation, I do not believe there will be the slightest opposition, and your attitude in ref-

annex thereto would be precisely mine. When I announce officially Morton's resignation which I suppose will be in a very few days, I shall announce your appointment. I think that August 1st will be the time when I should like you to take office.

"My dear fellow, you can hardly imagine how glad I am to have you a member of my official family."

Before announcing the appointment President Roosevelt had inquiry made of France through the State Department as to whether the selection of a Bonaparte for such a high position would be regarded as in any way a reflection upon the ruling party in that country. The reply came promptly that the government of France had no objection whatever. The appointment was announced on May 31, and caused one of the biggest sensations of Roosevelt's administration. It is difficult to say which set of politicians, Republicans or Democrats, were more astounded by it or viewed it with more consternation. The great fact disclosed by the public comments was that Bonaparte's reputation as an uncompromising and fearless reformer was as wide and solid as the continent. Nobody questioned that. "He is a reformer from the bottom up," said a public

official, "and he has been engaged in hunting down and penalizing graft for the past twenty-five years." "Yes," said another; "and they can't scare him. When in Baltimore they tell him that some of the things he says about politicians are libelous he replies: 'If there are libel suits, I am responsible. Let them sue.'" It was recalled that in Baltimore his political enemies called him various opprobrious names, including "Souphouse Charlie," "Academic Pharisee," and the "Imperial peacock of Park Avenue," and all in vain, for he smiled and went on exposing their rascality as mercilessly as ever.

For many days after his appointment he was the chief subject of comment in the press of the country. His relationship to Napoleon was set forth at length and was made the subject of countless cartoons. In one of these the spirit of Napoleon was depicted receiving an aerial telegram from President Roosevelt reading: "I have made your grandnephew Secretary of the Navy," and Napoleon was saying: "I hope he does better with ships than I did." In another he was standing dressed like Napoleon in naval uniform, after the familiar Orchardson picture of the scene on H. M. S. *Bellerophon* on the voyage from France to England in July,

1815, after the Battle of Waterloo, with Roosevelt and the other members of the Cabinet grouped in the background, and under the picture was the inscription: "Ninety Years After."

In the great majority of the newspapers of the country the appointment was heartily commended, and in no newspaper was there any question raised either of his unblemished integrity or his ability to fill the office acceptably. Even in Baltimore, *The Sun*, which during his long fight against the Gorman Ring had been its organ and defender, said of him:

"In Maryland he stands for the best that can be gotten out of politics, and he has risen to power and influence in his party without compromising his self-respect or truckling to any boss. He is a trained lawyer of distinction, of ripe scholarship, thoroughly acquainted with men and their methods; he has never faltered in the effort to beat down crookedness in politics, and is, like the President, honest and desirous of reverting to the plain and clean way of dealing with public affairs."

His fellow townsmen were equally hearty in their commendation. Cardinal Gibbons, head of the Catholic Church in the United States, said:

"I am delighted with the appointment. It

From a photograph © Clinedinst

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE
At his desk in the Navy Department.

UNIV. OF MICH.

is a most happy choice. Mr. Bonaparte will strengthen and adorn the President's Cabinet. It is a selection most gratifying in our city, of which Mr. Bonaparte is a leading citizen."

The local Democratic boss, I. Freeman Rasin, said: "I know very little about him. He is said to be a good lawyer. Is his appointment a compliment to the state? Humph!" Another Democratic politician, John J. Mahon, was more frank and complimentary: "It's a first-class appointment. Mr. Bonaparte is fearless, honest, and clean as a whistle, and has ability of a high order. Personally, I don't think he has any dislike for me, but politically I don't suppose he has any use for me. But that doesn't prevent me from acknowledging his merit."

The men of all parties who had been associated with Bonaparte in his reform work declared with one voice that the appointment was an honor to the state and they were proud and happy that it had been made.

One of the most interesting comments upon his appointment came from Constantinople, in the *Levant Herald:*

"Never was the truth of the saying about 'the best laid plans of mice and men' more forcibly illustrated than by the news that the

repudiated scion of the Imperial Napoleon is to become a Cabinet Minister of the greatest Republic the world has ever seen. As Secretary for the U. S. Navy, Mr. Bonaparte will command a fleet vastly more powerful than that of the great uncle who disowned him. Jerome Bonaparte, the ephemeral King of Westphalia, his grandfather, had in 1803 contracted a marriage with Miss Elisa Patterson, daughter of a wealthy merchant of Baltimore, and of this marriage was born the father of the now Minister designate. Meantime, Bonaparte's wide-sweeping ambitions expanded with his success, and in 1805 he forced his brother, for whom he had a crown in prospect, to repudiate the merchant's daughter and her child. In 1829, Mme. Bonaparte's son adopted the American nationality of his mother, and settled in Baltimore, where Mr. Charles Bonaparte was born."

He was besieged by newspaper correspondents, and received them all with the famous Bonaparte smile. One of them recorded this incident:

"A reporter asked him if his new appointment meant that he was to be the future dispenser of federal patronage in Maryland and whether his attendance on the State Commit-

tee's meeting should be taken to indicate his entrance into the field of practical politics as 'boss.'

"'Well, I don't know about that,' replied Mr. Bonaparte, 'but I suppose that in order to carry out my part as some of my friends would have me do I should take my place tomorrow in a little room off the main hall and have over the door a placard inscribed "See me first."' Mr. Bonaparte seemed to enjoy his joke very much. He was putting in a little dig at Senator Gorman, who at the meetings of the Democratic State Committee generally occupies a private room in which the minor leaders 'see him first.'"

Descriptions of his personal appearance abounded and afforded him much amusement. One of them read:

"It has been sometimes remarked that Mr. Bonaparte in his face and figure resembles the Little Corporal. People who seek to flatter him by saying that, only irritate him, for Mr. Bonaparte knows that he is taller and in other respects physically unlike his famous ancestor. His body is thick and sturdy looking, and his hands and feet are as small, almost as a woman's. His neck is large and strong, as it should be to support his massive head. This head is a double-decker — a vast, round, rugged

head, with curious rises over the temples. One writer has described it as 'the cannon-ball head of a warrior, with room for two sets of brains — and it is bald for the larger part, and smooth and shiny.

"Beneath the forehead lurks the Bonaparte smile. It is there all the time — morning, noon and night. It is there when its owner arises in court to pronounce a eulogy upon a dead judge; it is there when he lashes the 'leaders' on the stump, and it is there when he is in a case and the witnesses for the other side begin to perspire coldly. This smile, though even its owner may not have known it, was one of the chief assets of the Baltimore Reform League in the year of grace 1895, when the ancient and odorous Baltimore 'ring' faced 'Souphouse Charlie' and went tumbling into a heap of writhing grafters, scared 'leaders,' and twisted machinery."

He entered upon the duties of the Navy Department on July 1, 1905, and a few days later served notice on his old enemies in the Maryland Ring that he still had his eye on them and had no intention of leaving them in peace. He went to Baltimore and made vigorous protest against a proposed Constitutional amendment which was designed to disfranchise the negro

voters of the state. There was in the amendment an insidious so-called "grandfather clause." In speaking of it Bonaparte displayed his established aptitude for quotation by citing from Voltaire the phrase: "A good citizen needs no grandfather." This, considering his own ancestry, and his own reputation as a good citizen, excited much notice. In closing his remarks on the amendment he said: "If its right to political existence depends upon its having a grandfather like unto itself I unhesitatingly point out as that worthy grandsire — the Father of Lies."

He did not limit his services to the colored race to securing the defeat of the amendment providing for their disfranchisement in Maryland. He defended them at his own expense in cases brought against them in court, and faced with calm contempt such taunts as "friend of the nigger," that were thrown at him because of this conduct. While defending them against injustice, he did not fail to give them sound advice and admonition with the frankness and courage habitual to him. In a speech that he made to the Negro Young People's Christian and Educational Congress, in Baltimore in July, 1906, on "The Future of the Negro Race in America," he said:

"There is no room in America for people who cannot take care of themselves. I am one of those who feel strongly the repeated injustice and frequent perfidy which have marked our treatment of the Indians, but, after all has been said, the Indians wouldn't or couldn't, or, at all events, didn't learn to work in competition with the white men, and they have been first pushed to the wall and then crushed against it. You must either share their fate or profit by their example. You can't in this country 'rest and be thankful,' for if you try to do this you will soon have nothing to be thankful for. The idle and sensual and benighted are never really free, and America now is a country only for freemen."

This speech had a wide circulation, reaching as far as Liberia, and calling from Mr. Ernest Lyon, American Consul-General there, the following letter of approval:

"Allow me to thank you for the excellent and helpful address which you delivered before the N. Y. P. C. and Educational Society in July last, relative to the Colored people. It has created a profound impression on this side of the waters, and educated Africans with whom I have come in contact express the greatest pleasure and delight with its lofty and helpful

sentiments. I am causing the address to be reproduced in full in one of the Liberian Journals and will see to it myself that extra numbers be scattered broadcast. Again, let me not only thank you for it, Sir, but let me indulge in the hope that your life may be spared to continue in the councils of the nation where you may prove a blessing to humanity, regardless of race or color."

CHAPTER XI

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

(CONTINUED)

WHILE Bonaparte was put into the Navy Department mainly as a half-way house to the Attorney-Generalship, he was by no means a mere figurehead during the year and a half of his occupancy. Almost immediately upon his entrance several perplexing problems arose for his solution and these he met in his usual direct and fearless manner. On July 19, 1905, the boilers on a gunboat of the navy, the *Bennington*, exploded, causing the death of more than fifty officers and men. Secretary Bonaparte at once ordered a Court of Inquiry and in a statement to the public said:

"The public may rest assured that this distressing affair will be most thoroughly investigated, and that whatever action the result of the investigation may show to be proper will be taken by the department, promptly and effectually. I think this department may reasonably ask of an intelligent public that it

be trusted to do what is needed under the circumstances shown to have existed, whether as a matter of justice toward individuals or of precaution against similar misfortunes in the future."

The Court of Inquiry made a report to the Secretary on August 30, in which it recommended that an ensign who was serving as engineer at the time of the disaster be brought to trial before a court martial, made no reference to the responsibility of the captain of the vessel, thereby virtually acquitting him of blame, and said of the condition of affairs on the ship at the time: "That (on July 19, 1905) the ship was in an excellent state of discipline and in a good and efficient condition, with the exception of her boilers, which were in fair condition and efficient, considering their age (about fourteen years), and the use to which they had been subjected."

To this finding the Secretary made vigorous objection, saying the department did not consider it sustained by the evidence, which showed that the ship was not in a good condition, and ordered that the captain as well as the ensign go before a court martial to answer a charge of neglect of official duty.

This action of the Secretary caused a great

commotion in naval circles, where it was quite generally condemned, but in the reputable press of the country it was approved. The court martial was assembled and after a full hearing, both the captain and ensign were acquitted in January, 1906. This verdict was disapproved by both the Secretary and the Judge Advocate-General of the navy, and was returned to the court martial for revision. The court martial adhered to its original decision, and there the matter ended, leaving behind it in many quarters a belief that a coat of whitewash had been administered and that the Secretary had been justified in his course.

In October, 1905, the Secretary took action in regard to proper respect for the naval uniform which won him warm commendation. A civilian employee of the Norfolk navy-yard let a portion of his house to a petty officer of the navy. He broke the contract on the ground that his wife feared her "social position" would be affected if a man in sailor's clothes were seen going into or coming out of the house. Secretary Bonaparte dismissed the civilian employee from the service, and in his annual report for 1906, he thus explained his action:

'The uniform of an American sailor is universally recognized as not only decorous but

picturesque, and is frequently imitated in the costumes of children and young women. The objection on the part of the dismissed employee or his wife to its use by a person who should live in their house evidently arose not from any prejudice against the dress but from the unfounded and calumnious notion, unfortunately not confined to them, that a sailor on shore is presumptively a disorderly and drunken individual and a fit associate for rowdies and prostitutes. I need not discuss whether there ever was any truth in this idea with respect to the sailors of our Navy; certainly, it is wholly false and slanderous at present.

"The Department has tried long and earnestly to secure for the service men of good moral character and reputable antecedents; and it therefore demands and, so far as it can, compels respect for these men and for their uniform from all classes of the community. It might appear at first sight that an incident such as the one above noted was hardly of sufficient importance to justify mention in this report or action by the Department, but in certain respects this discrimination against the uniform has very serious consequences. Not only does it retard enlistments and promote desertions, but when a ship of war comes into port from a

cruise, lasting perhaps many months, its enlisted complement, consisting in great majority of young unmarried men, have a natural and legitimate desire for relaxation and amusement after this long period of isolation and monotony. If they are not admitted to reputable places of entertainment they will go to such as are disreputable; if the 'social position' of virtuous women is affected by being seen in their company they will associate with vicious women, and the results of this almost enforced debauchery will be deplorable to themselves and to the service.

"I recommend that the Congress make any refusal on the part of the proprietor of a theatre or other place of amusement, an innkeeper, or a common carrier, to furnish accommodation to an orderly and well-behaved person in the naval service able and willing to pay for such accommodation an offense against the United States, punishable by fine and imprisonment."

In November, 1905, a fist fight in the Naval Academy, at Annapolis, resulted in the death of a midshipman from a blow on the head. Secretary Bonaparte ordered a court martial of the midshipman who had dealt the blow, which resulted in a verdict that he "be confined to the limits of the Naval Academy for a period

of one year, and be publicly reprimanded by the Secretary of the Navy." The Secretary's reprimand was in the form of a letter as follows:

Dec. 12, 1905.

"Sir: You have been duly convicted of violating clause 3 of Article VIII of the articles for the government of the navy by insulting and subsequently assaulting one of your fellow-midshipmen; and of conduct to the prejudice of good order and discipline by engaging in a fist fight with the same midshipman. These offenses on your part have led to a calamity so clearly unforeseen by you and so distressing that no words of reproof can be needed to make you feel their gravity. Your disobedience to the laws of your country, your forgetfulness of the full import of your oath, your yielding to fierce and angry passions when tempted by a sense of wrong have borne fruits so bitter that your worst punishment has been already suffered.

"The merciful sentence of the court martial which tried you leaves you a member of the honorable profession you have chosen. In that great school of self-sacrifice and obedience, a life useful to your country will, it is hoped, atone for grave faults which have clouded the early years of your service.

"You will acknowledge receipt of this letter, and it will be entered on your official record."

Undoubtedly, the most memorable episode in Bonaparte's administration was created by his recommendation that the old frigate *Constitution* be used as a target and sunk in the ocean. The uproar which this caused when it became public in his annual report for 1905, was terrific. In Boston it assumed the proportions of a popular convulsion. Nobody was more surprised, and surely nobody was more amused by it, than Bonaparte. He had no suspicion that any one could object, for he supposed that his statement of historic facts about the vessel would show everybody that there was little or no ground for sentiment in connection with it. His recommendation was made the subject of such a lively controversy and has been so often misrepresented that it is worth while to reproduce it here in full:

"Erroneous or greatly exaggerated reports as to the condition of the old frigate *Constitution* now at the Boston navy-yard led recently to some popular agitation looking to the preservation of this ship as a national relic, and also to much discussion as to the most appropriate and becoming method of perpetuating the

memory of the naval victories with which her name is associated.

"In dealing with this question it is important to bear in mind that the vessel now at Charlestown is not the vessel with which Hull captured the *Guerrière*. Some portion of the materials from that ship was undoubtedly used in building the new one, to which her name was subsequently given, but probably only a very small part of these materials can now be identified with any confidence, and in any event, it is quite certain that they constituted only a very small part of the structure of the new ship. To exhibit the *Constitution* therefore as the genuine 'Old Ironsides,' charging, as has been proposed, a fee for permission to inspect her, and using the amount thus earned to bear the expense of her preservation, would not only ill accord with the dignity of the Government, but would amount to obtaining money under false pretences.

"The further suggestion that she should be rebuilt on her old lines with new materials would involve a perfectly unjustifiable waste of public money, since when completed, at a cost of certainly several hundred thousand dollars, she would be absolutely useless. Nevertheless, I think it would be wise and becoming to com-

memorate in some proper way the victories of the old *Constitution*, and I suggest that this be done in the same way in which it was done when the frigate was rebuilt — that is to say, I suggest that so much of the materials of the present ship as can be shown to have belonged to the original *Constitution*, and to be also of some utility, or at least of no detriment, on board a modern ship of war, be transferred to a new vessel to be named the *Constitution*, and that the remainder of the ship be broken up.

"If, for purely sentimental reasons, it should be thought that this supposed veteran of our old wars is entitled to a warrior's death, she might be used as a target for some of the ships in our North Atlantic fleet and sunk by their fire. I think the new vessel ought to be one outside of the regular estimate for the increase of the Navy, built, first of all, to perpetuate the memory of the *Constitution*, but so constructed that in all respects she will compare favorably with the finest vessels of her type now afloat.

"This type, it appears to me, ought to be that of an armored cruiser, since the late *Constitution* was not a ship of the line, but a frigate, and armored cruisers at the present day correspond in a general way to what frigates were

in her day. I suggest, therefore, that an armored cruiser on the general model of the *West Virginia* and *Colorado*, but larger and swifter, and with all the improvement suggested by the latest phase of naval science, be authorized to be built and named the *Constitution*, and that she take the place of the present old frigate on our Navy register."

A mass-meeting was called in Faneuil Hall, in Boston, to protest against the Secretary's suggestion, and on the afternoon preceding its assembling a telegram was sent to Secretary Bonaparte by one of its promoters, asking: "May I not say to the meeting called to preserve the *Constitution* that she will not be destroyed?" To this the Secretary replied: "Fate of *Constitution* in hands of Congress. Personally wish to see her arise like a phœnix, but am too loyal to other Constitution to take unauthorized liberties with this one." The meeting was held, well but not largely attended, and speeches vigorously denouncing the Secretary were made. Oliver Wendell Holmes's poem "Old Ironsides," which was familiar to every school-child in the land, was published in the newspapers, and Congress authorized an appropriation for the preservation of the ship, and the storm passed. In his annual report

for 1906, Secretary Bonaparte recalled his suggestion of the previous year and added:

"I deem the foregoing explanation proper because of the clamor aroused by the last-mentioned suggestion, a clamor which, although unreasonable and largely factitious, nevertheless indicated on the part of many worthy people either ignorance of the facts or else a complete misunderstanding of the Department's meaning.

"The work authorized by the congress at its last session for the preservation of the old ship is in progress. Much of the upper woodwork, which proved to be very badly decayed, has been removed and suitable supports inserted, so that the vessel may be docked without danger to her integrity. Inasmuch as it has been determined to spend the considerable sum already appropriated for her preservation, I recommend that she be so far further reconstructed as to be made seaworthy. In my last report I stated that, if so rebuilt, 'she would be absolutely useless'; experience has led me to modify this opinion. The Department is frequently requested to send ships of war to take part, and especially to fire salutes, in patriotic celebrations at seaport towns. If the *Constitution* were in condition to be towed from port to port, she would be very serviceable for this

purpose; and would certainly serve much better to awaken interest in the Navy and remind the public of its honorable traditions than if kept as a mere object of curiosity at a single naval station."

The old vessel was repaired and has been kept in repair since, and is at the present time at the navy-yard in Boston.

So far as the general administration of the Navy Department was concerned Bonaparte followed established policy and did little more than maintain the existing level. He was in complete sympathy, as he said on taking office, with President Roosevelt's views on the need of a large navy, and all his recommendations were along that line. He took, because of his official position, a prominent part in the spectacular proceedings in connection with bringing the remains of John Paul Jones to this country for burial at Annapolis in 1906.

In an article which he published in the *Century Magazine*, in March, 1910, he thus described his own experiences in the department. Writing of visits of a Senator or Congressman, he said:

"When he called on the Secretary of the Navy it was always to intercede for a deserter, to ask the discharge of a recruit, or to get work

for some one in a navy-yard or higher wages for workmen. In any case, he always 'wanted something' for his friends or his State or his district, and, really and in the last resort, always 'wanted something' for himself. To make him talk or think about national defense, the effective administration of justice, the enforcement of the very laws he had helped to make, there must have been, in the words of Sam Weller, 'nothin' less than a nat'ral convulsion.' One of these statesmen, calling on me shortly before Christmas, wished me 'the compliments of the season.' I replied that I wished him

"'A Merrie Christmas and a Happy New Year,
A pocket full of money and a cellar full of beer.'

"He listened with a sympathetic countenance until he heard the last four words; then his face clouded, and he said stiffly that he thanked me for my good wishes, but felt it his duty to add that, among his constituents, 'public opinion condemned the use of intoxicants as a beverage.'

"In itself, however, the office I held is, or ought to be, laborious and responsible. A Secretary of the Navy, if unwilling to be merely a

more or less ornamental appendage, must work hard, think for himself, keep his own counsel, and, while receiving outwardly military deference, count on many whispered maledictions. Our naval officers are a fine body of men both morally and intellectually; while at my second post of duty I often remembered them with regret.

"In my time much public money was wasted on navy-yards. There were by far too many of them. Some had once been needed, but had long ago outgrown usefulness; some were originally established through log-rolling in the naval committees and never had been or could be of any use. A mischievous tendency to make work for the yard force had thus been fostered in the service. A requisition for labor and materials estimated at fifty-three cents that once reached the Department, with half a dozen successive approvals, originated in the fact that a thermometer in the magazine of a vessel lying at one of the yards was moved a few feet. Instead of having one of the skilled mechanics aboard drive a nail at the place selected, which might have taken ten seconds, a hand from one of the shops was sent for, who consumed fifty cents' worth of time coming and going, with

an allowance of three cents for a nail and the wear and tear of a hammer-head."

Bonaparte's administration of the department was popular with the navy, and he was regarded by its officers as one of the most efficient secretaries who had filled the position during recent years.

An incident which occurred while he was in the Navy Department, is recorded by President Roosevelt in one of the letters to his children:*

"Prince Louis of Battenberg has been here and I have been very much pleased with him. He is a really good admiral, and in addition he is a well-read and cultivated man and it was charming to talk with him. We had him and his nephew, Prince Alexander, a midshipman, to lunch alone with us, and we really enjoyed having them. At the State dinner he sat between me and Bonaparte, and I could not help smiling to myself in thinking that here was this British Admiral seated beside the American Secretary of the Navy — the American Secretary of the Navy being the grand-nephew of Napoleon and the grandson of Jerome, King of Westphalia; while the British Admiral was

* "Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children," page 144. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919.

the grandson of a Hessian general who was the subject of King Jerome and served under Napoleon, and then, by no means creditably, deserted him in the middle of the Battle of Leipsic."

CHAPTER XII

ATTORNEY-GENERAL

EARLY in 1906, Bonaparte conveyed to President Roosevelt an intimation that if, for any reason, he was dissatisfied with his conduct of the Navy Department, he was quite willing to resign. Roosevelt's response, under date of January 15, 1906, was characteristic and emphatic: "You are a trump! Remember that I always intended to have you in as Attorney-General, expecting to appoint you on the first of this July. I put you in the Navy Department as a stop-gap. You must *not* leave the Cabinet even temporarily."

When early in December, 1906, the President sent to the Senate the nomination of Bonaparte for Attorney-General a few Democratic Senators opposed confirmation on the ground that in 1899 Bonaparte had made a speech in which he had said that legislative action in regulation or restraint of combinations was undesirable. In reply to this Bonaparte said: "I believe all laws should be obeyed without evasion or ques-

tion, and that all who do not obey the law should be impartially and inflexibly punished according to the law. This is the only statement of my views which I think appropriate in this connection."

The objection was generally regarded as captious and was unavailing as the nomination was confirmed on December 17. It was especially futile in view of a passage on pigs in a speech which Bonaparte had made only a short time before in Maryland, at Denton, on October 1, 1906, and which had excited wide and varied comment in the press:

"Our big, strong, greedy, over-prosperous trusts are animals of the like (pig) order. They crowd their smaller and weaker fellows from the feeding trough so that these don't get their fair share of our national prosperity. The problem is how to so fence off the great beasts as to give the little ones a show.

"Remember we don't complain of the former because they are themselves big and fat, but because they keep the others small and thin. The fatter the big pigs become the better for their owner and the more money the trusts make the better for the American people provided in the one case, all the little pigs get fat too, or, at all events, as fat as these can, and,

in the other that all dealers outside of the trusts have a fair field and the trusts have no favor.

"Our President wants and has always wanted a square deal for every one, whether pig, lion, or man, and under his leadership the Republican Party has tried to put and keep each of our trusts in its proper pen where it can't crowd any of the little fellows around it. To these ends he has asked the aid of Congress and of the courts to keep the corporate and individual wealth of the country in due subjection to the law, not to make rich men poor, for to do this would only make poor men poorer, but to make rich men law-abiding so that poor men may become rich if they will. And the two Houses of Congress as well as the courts have responded to his appeal."

When taking the oath of office Bonaparte foreshadowed the course, which he subsequently followed, of arguing personally cases before the Supreme Court, by saying in reply to the welcoming words of his predecessor:

"I desire to say but one word at this moment. In the Act of 1789 it is provided that 'there shall be appointed a meet person, learned in the law, to act as Attorney-General for the United States, whose duty it shall be to prose-

THE WHITE HOUSE.
WASHINGTON.

Personal

January 15, 1906.

My dear Bonaparte:

You are a trump! I shall not try to answer you until I see you. Remember, however, that I always intended to have you in as Attorney General, expecting to appoint you the 1st of this July. I put you in the Navy Department as a stop-gap. You must not leave the cabinet even temporarily.

Always yours,

Theodore Roosevelt

Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte,
Secretary of the Navy.

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cute and conduct all suits in the Supreme Court in which the United States shall be concerned.'

"Guided, sir, in this determination by your example and council, while not forgetful of the further duties of grave moment imposed by this law and by later laws upon the Attorney-General, I shall always remember that his first task, first in order of time and, to my mind, first in order of importance, is personally to protect the interests of the Government before the great court of our Constitution."

Bonaparte's appointment to the Department of Justice had been so clearly foreshadowed that it excited much less interest than had his appointment as Secretary of the Navy. In general, the press comment was favorable, his high reputation as a lawyer being well and widely established. A newspaper sketch of him at this time represented quite accurately the prevailing Washington view of him as he entered upon his new duties:

"Through their agents in Washington the big corporation lawyers in all parts of the country are making careful inquiry into the character, capacity and temporal qualities of Mr. Bonaparte. They want to get his measure before they have to face him in court. The first thing they will learn of him is that he is

an aristocrat in feeling and deportment. He is too proud to be bossed and too cynical to be fooled. No 'interest' or no person does or can control him. He does his own thinking — and a very clear article of thought his mental machinery turns out, too, with barbs of wit and sharp edges of cynicism that inflict smarting wounds on the adversary who arouses his ire. Mr. Bonaparte has never had a large law practice, because he has been too busy with his own affairs, but he is a lawyer of profound learning, great industry and a genius for detail. Whether he is ambitious or not, in the sense that most men who get into high office in the United States are, is a question which even the very few persons who are his intimates are able to answer. They give it as their opinion that he would rather be Attorney General than President, and that with his natural hatred of vulgar and greedy rich men he will prove a terror to every trust magnate in the country who comes under that head."

President Roosevelt was at the height of his campaign against "bad trusts," when Bonaparte became Attorney-General. In November, 1906, the Government had brought suit against the Standard Oil Company as a combination in restraint of trade, and had begun an investi-

gation of the Union Pacific or Harriman lines. Early in 1907, there were signs of approaching financial disturbances of a serious nature, and these were made the basis of a formidable and concerted effort by the opponents of the President's policy in regard to railway and other corporations to induce him to moderate or abandon temporarily such legal proceedings as he had instituted. This effort failed utterly, and the President adhered inflexibly to his course. In his resolute determination to be neither coaxed nor frightened from his position he had a legal ally after his own heart in Bonaparte. They stood shoulder to shoulder and saw eye to eye in all things. Both men were generously endowed with the saving sense of humor, in which they found solace and relief in times of vexation and amid tempests of misrepresentation and abuse. Instances of this perfect understanding occur frequently in their correspondence, both official and personal. In *The Outlook* of March 16, 1907, Bonaparte published an article on Roosevelt's administration entitled "Two Years of a Government That Does Things." In this he said that Roosevelt's administration had not made promises in advance which it had failed to fulfil, in that respect differing from those statesmen who

would promise anything in a campaign that they thought would help to elect them. "I have not heard a suggestion," he said, "that the canals of Mars be acquired and exploited by our Government, but this suggestion would bear a close analogy to some which I have heard, especially if it be true that there are no canals in Mars."

Referring to the achievements of President Roosevelt, he wrote:

"The first thing or at least the first big thing, he did after his inauguration, was to run the risk of rebuff and failure and consequent blame, to forget the precepts and the precedents of a policy which would shut out our country from international fellowship with nineteen-twentieths of the human race, and to employ all the legitimate influence of a great nation — a nation too strong to be flouted, and in this case too clearly disinterested to be suspected of guile — to restore the incalculable blessing of peace to Russia and Japan and the lands which were their battlefield. Beside this great achievement, his share in promoting the peace of Central America, in staying civil strife in Cuba, in discouraging rebellion in Santo Domingo, seem trifles; but these trifles have served to spare humanity no little bloodshed and misery and

WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON.

March 18th 1905

Dear Bonaparte,

Just a line more about your article on my administration — to be accurate, our administration for I feel that there has rarely been an administration where it has been so much a case of collective

judgement — and action
as in the case of
this — you and I,
Root — & Taft, Carlisyon,
Moody, have been
able to work together
with astonishing
unanimity, and, I really
believe, with most unusual
singleness of purpose.

Much though I
like the article for
what it says, I

think I am almost more pleased at what it shows of the writer. It is a nice thing to have in so high public place a man who naturally uses the similes and expressions therein used; they are all used in such new ways from Mars to Charlemagne—

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and they have the merit, the well-nigh forgotten merit in public documents, of being interesting; it is good to see English used as an instrument of [illegible]* literary, not merely scientific, precision, by a man actively working out great problems of statesmanship.

Sincerely yours

Theodore Roosevelt

* Incidentally, you never would have made a blot like this!

to earn for his country and himself no little credit and respect."

In regard to the President's attitude toward the trusts, he wrote: "It has been the aim of this Administration, an aim pursued with unswerving fidelity during the past two years, to show all Americans, whether rich or poor or of whatever class, or condition in life, that the laws made for their common good demand the prompt and unquestioning obedience of all alike."

This article so pleased Roosevelt that he wrote in his own hand the following letter to Bonaparte which exhibits the "teamwork" spirit that pervaded the Administration.

White House,
Washington.
March 18th, 1907.

"DEAR BONAPARTE,

"Just a line more about your article on my administration — to be accurate, our administration, for I feel that there has rarely been an administration where it has been so much a case of collective judgment and action as in the case of this — you and I, Root and Taft, Cortelyou, Moody, have been able to work together with astonishing unanimity, and, I really believe, with most unusual singleness of purpose.

"Much though I like the article for what it says, I think I am almost more pleased at what it shows of the writer. It *is* a nice thing to have in high public place a man who naturally uses the similes and expressions therein used; they are all used in such new ways — from Mars to Charlemagne — and they have the merit in public documents, of being interesting; it is good to see English used as an instrument of literary, not merely scientific, precision, by a man actively working out great problems of statesmanship.

Sincerely yours

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

CHAPTER XIII

ATTORNEY-GENERAL

(CONTINUED)

SCARCELY had Bonaparte entered upon his duties as Attorney-General, when what seemed to be a systematic effort to cause dissension between him and the President was instituted in the press. Almost daily reports were sent from Washington that the President was displeased with him and that his resignation was imminent. One day it would be said that Bonaparte's flippant utterances in speeches were extremely distasteful to the President. On another day it would be said that Bonaparte's inattention to the duties of his office, his laxness in the trust prosecution, was greatly annoying the President whose patience was nearly exhausted. Such head-lines as these —I am quoting from the newspapers of the period — were frequent: "Indolent Bonaparte to Lose His Job"; "May Fire Bonaparte for Soldiering"; "Bonaparte May Resign"; "Bonaparte Is Riled; May Be Forced Out"; "Bonaparte Stung with Criticism Does Some Hard Work";

"Roosevelt Ignores Bonaparte"; "Bonaparte Falls Out with the President"; "Roosevelt Can't Stir Bonaparte." Then, for a time would appear such head-lines as: "Bonaparte No Quitter"; "Bonaparte to Stay." These were usually accompanied by statements like the following, which appeared in the New York *Journal of Commerce* and other newspapers in August, 1907:

"According to important interests in this city very close to the Administration, the usefulness of Attorney General Bonaparte as a member of the President's Cabinet has culminated. It is not expected that immediate retirement will result, for such action might be construed as a sign of weakening in the President's anti-trust policy — a construction particularly distasteful to Mr. Roosevelt, since not the slightest justification exists for it. But there is no question, according to the excellent information obtained last evening, that the President is not only not in sympathy with the recent flippant and undignified attitude and the at least doubtful legal procedure displayed by the Attorney General, but is in all respects opposed to them.

" 'Bonaparte is an impossible man,' said a mutual friend of both the President and the

Attorney General. 'I cannot imagine how the President came to appoint him. He has apparently not taken, and I am quite sure he never will take his position as Attorney General seriously, and there is no question that he is the wrong man for the place — a fact that President Roosevelt seems now to fully recognize.' The same authority, who has, by the way, discussed the policy of the Administration with the President, intimated that the Executive is deeply chagrined at the position in which he has been placed by the Attorney General."

In order to show how utterly groundless all these rumors were, it is only necessary to quote from the letters which passed between the two men during this time. In August, 1907, Bonaparte was spending his vacation in Lenox and Roosevelt was at Oyster Bay. Roosevelt was preparing the address that he delivered on August 20 at the laying of the corner-stone of the Pilgrim Memorial Monument at Provincetown, Mass. He sent a draft of it on August 2 to Bonaparte for suggestions and criticism, and on August 5, Bonaparte replied as follows:

"I have duly received your letter of the 2nd inst., with the accompanying draft of your proposed speech, in which I find no room for any possible suggestion, except that where you

speak of putting the 'trusts that are guilty of wrongdoing in the hands of receivers,' it might perhaps be well to add the words 'in certain contingencies, and for certain purposes.' It is an admirable address and cannot fail, I think, to be of service in guiding and enlightening public opinion. The talk about the criminal prosecution of trust magnates suggests to my mind the old adage that 'not what we eat, but what we digest does us good.' It would be a good thing to have one of the aforesaid magnates sent to jail, but it would not be a good thing to have a jury of his countrymen deal with him as the Idaho jury dealt with Haywood. I have been on the lookout, for several months, for a good case, but the chance of getting a conviction, and a sentence of imprisonment after the conviction, seem to me to be very poor, unless we can strike a case where the criminal acts are not merely violations of positive law, but, also, involve some element of generally recognized moral obliquity. This fact was, as you will remember, strikingly illustrated by our experience with the Liquorice Trust. We indicted and tried the two corporations and their respective Presidents. The contracts and other transactions establishing the guilt of the corporations were made thorough

and so far as they were in writing, signed by the Presidents. Nevertheless, the Jury convicted the two companies and acquitted the two men. The average juryman would like to see trusts broken up, and is quite ready to have the corporations forming part of them fined, but when it comes to sending to jail a reputable member of the community merely for doing what a very large proportion of the successful business men of his acquaintance do, to his knowledge, when they get a chance, the juryman is very loth to find the facts proven 'beyond a reasonable doubt.' As you say, in the speech, no great good is accomplished in convicting a mere underling on whom the Court will probably impose a very light sentence, and yet it is so often only in such cases that proof can be obtained so absolutely clear as to leave no loophole for an escape from conviction."

The perfect accord between the two men is shown by the fact that Roosevelt cut out of his address the sentence which Bonaparte had amended about putting trusts that had offended in the hands of receivers, and incorporated, almost literally, the passage in Bonaparte's letter about experience with the Liquorice Trust. The address in this amended form is so published in the official collection of his addresses.

All of Roosevelt's intimates knew that he was always quick to accept suggestions from those in whose judgment he had confidence.

Bonaparte early in August sent to the President a letter that he had received from a well-known New England banker criticising his course in prosecuting trusts, and asked the President's advice about replying to him. In response the President wrote on August 15, 1907:

"I think it would be an excellent thing for you to write Blank with a view to publication. I have written him four or five different letters, not with a view to publication, all in answer to various letters he sent me. He is a trump, but I know no human being who squeals louder and more irrationally on all kinds and sorts of subjects, but especially when there is a slump in stocks."

Bonaparte had been very much interested in Maryland politics during the summer and had made several speeches in the State. On August 15, 1907, he wrote to the President from Lenox:

"The Republican Convention nominated a very good ticket yesterday, and the outlook in Maryland is much brighter than I expected it to be. I enclose you a clipping giving the resolution on national affairs. I prepared it, al-

though I did not attend the Convention. As I wrote it the words underlined were 'our beloved President.' Subsequently I was told that objection would be made by somebody to the word 'beloved,' although the objector was willing to say 'esteemed.' I told my informant that I did not think the difference would be material. I did not enquire which one of the prominent politicians it was who had made the objection, as I thought it would show too much solicitude about a trifle to do so, but I have some reason to suspect it was a 'trust magnate' on the modest scale possible, in Maryland, or else the representative of one and that the incident was a petty ebullition of the spirit now apparently rampant in Wall Street.

"The inhabitants of that favored locality, and those under their influence, seem to be very angry with me just now, by reason of something which I either have said or haven't said. I enclose a little editorial from today's *Tribune*, which may not have met your eye. I do not know to what this refers. As I wrote you, some of the interviews attributed to me just after I left Oyster Bay were decidedly silly, and might have justified criticism from a 'fault of manners' on my part, had they not been, in large part, apocryphal. I hardly think, however, that this

is what troubles our friends of the Press at present. I have been urged by a number of reporters to give a list of the prosecutions now contemplated, or under investigation, by the Department, because it would have a re-assuring effect on Wall Street, or else, with the same end in view, to authorize a publication to the effect that there were very few such contemplated prosecutions, and none involving wealthy corporations, or prominent persons. Of course, I have declined to do either, because the second statement would not be accurate, and it would be decidedly against the public interest, as well as against the practice of the Department, to give out the information involved in the first.

"Since writing the above I have heard from some newspaper men, that the essence of my offence has consisted in the levity with which I am supposed to have spoken of the possibility that Rockefeller, Harriman or some other real magnate might be placed in jail. Such a contingency in the view of all 'conservative' elements of the community, is one to be mentioned with bated breath, and the reckless disregard for the country's prosperity shown by speaking of it as I have done, is clearly responsible for all the trouble in the stock market."

To this Roosevelt replied on August 17:

"That editorial from *The Tribune* to my mind simply goes to show that it also can be reached from Wall Street. What curious people they are!

"I heartily approve of your declining to give the reporters an interview. As I wrote you, I think that the wise thing for you to do is simply to say nothing. Your actions have been, without exception, right. The course you have followed has been marked by both courage and wisdom, and in the end it is bound to receive the approbation of all decent men. Anything that you say is certain to be twisted, and I simply would not speak at all.

"I am much amused at the substitution of 'esteemed' for 'beloved.' In Wall Street neither adjective would be tolerated for a moment."

Writing again on August 21 and 26, Bonaparte gave further evidence of the absolute falsity of the reports that he and the President were not in complete harmony:

"I have been told by some of my newspaper friends that orders have been received by representatives of *The Times*, *Sun* and *Journal of Commerce*, and possibly one or two other papers, not to 'let up' on the Department of Justice, nor on me, so long as I remained its head, which, the Trusts hope, will not be long. The au-

thority for this story is none of the best, and I should attach no credit to it, if it did not seem to correspond so closely with the course of the papers referred to. Recently they seem to have deliberately adopted as a 'plan of campaign' the scheme of ascribing to me statements and interviews which are altogether apocryphal. I have noted, at least, a half a dozen such instances within the past few days: the semi-statements do not affect me personally except as a source of amusement, but, I fear that Judge Landis, and possibly some other persons, may have taken them more seriously. I hope, however, that, now that Wall Street is recovering from its real or affected attack of hysterics, this effervescence of mispresentation will gradually subside: this result could, I think, only be delayed by my saying for publication anything more on the subject.

"I think it is true that the New York papers more directly under the influence of Wall Street made a systematic attempt to get rid of me as Attorney General. I do not think, however, that they expected to have any influence with you, but, having heard of me as an eccentric and rather irascible person, with no very good taste for public life, they hoped I would either be sufficiently disgusted with the incidents of

my position to throw it up, or, else, would do something sufficiently injudicious to seriously compromise me. They have been an annoyance but nothing more, and I presume they will get tired of their occupation in the course of a little while when they see that it produces no results.

"I understand that the New York *Sun* has made some sort of an onslaught on me again, but I have not seen the article. Such literature has lost the charm of novelty for me and I do not feel bound to look it up merely to promote the virtue of humility. Probably the paper I shall read at the Prison Congress will give *The Sun* and other journals of the same type something new to criticize."

Replying on August 31, the President wrote:

"I had not noticed the revival of the story that you were to resign in deference to the wishes of prominent financiers. I had supposed that it had died a natural death with the end, temporary or permanent, of the flurry in Wall Street. So far from the business being a serious embarrassment to me or the service, I think it is a good thing. I think the Wall Street people have succeeded in establishing in the minds of the public at large far more effectually than would have been possible for you or my-

self, the conviction that your course has been such as to cause the gravest alarm to every corrupt man of great wealth."

The reference to Judge Landis in one of the extracts quoted above is explained in the following letter to the Judge written by Bonaparte on August 20, 1907:

"I take advantage of this occasion to mention that Mr. Sims called my attention to a story printed in some newspaper, purporting to give the views of 'a prominent official of the Department of Justice,' to the effect that by summoning Mr. Rockefeller as a witness, you had given him a general immunity. I do not believe that any official of this Department is responsible for this publication. My experience with the newspapers, since I have been Attorney General, leads me to pay absolutely no attention whatever to any statement which they contain, unless it is official or from an avowed or responsible source. The probabilities are that the supposed 'official' was simply the reporter himself, who was under orders to get up an item. During the recent excitement in Wall Street, so many wholly imaginary interviews or statements were ascribed to me that, if I had attempted to correct them, I would have given up my whole time to this unsuccess-

ful effort. At least it is, I hope, unnecessary for me to say that the Department neither knew nor approved of the publication in question."

On December 21, 1907, Bonaparte made an address in Chicago in which he said:

"Americans as a nation think their laws are meant to be obeyed by all alike, by the rich no less than by the poor, by the enlightened no less than by the ignorant. Moreover, they wish and intend their laws to be thus obeyed, and that the richest law-breaker who ever crushed out competition through a 'trust' shall find no greater favors from courts or juries or public prosecutors than the meanest criminal who counterfeits our coins or sends obscene matter through the mails.

"The danger in this respect is that the people may be deceived: and in fact I believe that a widespread, persistent, systematic and unscrupulous attempt to deceive the people as to these things has been in progress during the entire official life of the present national administration and is in progress today."

In expressing his approval of this address, President Roosevelt, in a letter to Bonaparte under date of December 23, 1907, improved the opportunity to assure the Attorney-General

of his cordial and unqualified satisfaction with his administration of his department:

"I must congratulate you on your admirable speech at Chicago. You said the very things that it was good to say at this time. What you said bore especial weight because it represented what you had done. You have shown by what you have actually accomplished that the law is enforced against the wealthiest corporation, and the richest and most powerful manager or manipulator of that corporation, just as resolutely and fearlessly as against the humblest citizen. The Department of Justice is now in very fact the Department of Justice, and justice is meted out with an even hand to great and small, rich and poor, weak and strong. Those who have denounced you and the action of the Department of Justice are either misled or else are the very wrong-doers, and the agents of the very wrong-doers, who have for so many years gone scot-free and flouted the laws with impunity. Above all, you are to be congratulated upon the bitterness felt and exprest towards you by the representatives and agents of the great law-defying corporations of immense wealth who, until within the last half dozen years, have treated themselves and have expected others to treat them as being beyond and above all possible check from law."

It should be put on record here that the President, obviously determined that there should be no doubt in history as to his estimate of Bonaparte's services, subsequently published in full in his "Autobiography" the letter from which the above extract is taken, saying of him in connection with it that Bonaparte had been a "peculiarly close friend and adviser through the period covered by my public life in high office," possessing "understanding sympathy with my social and industrial programme." Also, in his "Autobiography," Roosevelt says: "Messrs. Knox, Moody and Bonaparte, who successively occupied the position of Attorney General under me, were profound lawyers and fearless and able men; and they completely established the newer and more wholesome doctrine under which the Federal Government may now deal with monopolistic combinations and conspiracies."

CHAPTER XIV

ATTORNEY-GENERAL

(CONCLUDED)

THE persistent newspaper assaults upon Bonaparte did not for a moment disturb his equanimity. His sense of humor was equal to all emergencies and both perplexed and annoyed his critics. On one occasion when he emerged from the White House into a gathering of correspondents, he surveyed them with the Bonaparte smile and in his peculiar intonation asked: "Have you gentlemen fully arranged for my retirement from the Cabinet?" When they asked if there was any news about the trusts, he replied: "No, not a thing. The trusts, you know, are rejoicing over the languor of the Department of Justice." On another occasion when he was asked about the appeal which had been taken from the famous $29,000,000 decision of Judge Landis in the Standard Oil case, he replied:

"I have never been accustomed to try my cases in the newspapers, and this course seems to me peculiarly inappropriate when the case

in question has just been tried and decided in one court and will be, in all human probability, soon tried and decided again in another.

"The government's views were adequately presented in the first mentioned tribunal, and will be, I hope and believe, no less adequately presented on appeal. If any of the public wish to understand the facts in the meantime I commend to their consideration not the special pleading of paid officers of either party to the controversy, but the opinion of Judge Landis, a judicial servant of the people, paid and sworn to do exact justice to both parties."

His obvious indifference to the attacks upon him had the natural effect of adding to the fury of them. He was not merely indifferent, he was decidedly contemptuous. Once when he returned to Baltimore just after a report had been sent broadcast that he was suffering a "nervous collapse" because of his disagreement with the President, he said to a local reporter who had expressed surprise at his vigorous appearance and had asked if he was intending to resign and was out of favor with Roosevelt:

"So far as I know both statements have their source in the exuberant fancy of certain enterprising and imaginative gentlemen of the press. I was not aware that I had the least idea of

retiring from the Cabinet at present, until I saw that I had in the newspapers, and I was equally ignorant of any change in my relations to the President until this interesting fact was discovered by some argus-eyed purveyor of truth to the public through the press.

"I see on the same unimpeachable authority, that I have passed only some 20 days in Washington during the five months which have elapsed since I became Attorney General, devote only three or four hours a week to my official duties and am on the verge of a complete nervous collapse.

"Undoubtedly the authors of these statements know much more about the facts than I do, but to my mistaken apprehension they seem to be far ahead of Gulliver and formidable rivals of Munchausen."

Nothing could have been more false than the charge that Bonaparte neglected his official duties. The most noteworthy characteristic of his administration of the Department of Justice was his personal participation in its work. As noted in a previous chapter, he declared when entering upon its duties that he should always remember that his first task was to personally protect the interests of the government in the Supreme Court. During his occupancy he took

part in fully twice as many cases in the Supreme Court as any of his immediate predecessors had taken, winning a majority of them. He wrote personally 135 of the 138 opinions which were given out, work that his predecessors had left nearly or quite entirely to assistants, and examined personally and reported himself to the President on all applications for pardons. In fact, the only fault found with him in the Department was that he tried to "run everything himself," saying that he wished to make his own mistakes.

Writing about his experience with the trusts, in the article already cited, which was published in *The Century Magazine*, in March, 1910, Bonaparte said:

"Perhaps the subjects on which my experience as a Cabinet officer led me to change my opinions most seriously were the character and standing of the Press. While Attorney General, I was strongly, though vainly, urged by a certain public man to 'let up' on a certain great Trust, and, during an interview on this subject, he told me the Trust he championed was prepared to support some measures believed to be favored by the Administration, and, indeed, had already 'issued orders to all the newspapers it owned' to advocate the measure in

question. A week or ten days later he could produce a large bundle of clippings, which proved, he said, that these orders had been truly issued and dutifully obeyed. I did not examine the clippings, but I had then and have now no doubt that he correctly stated their purport; for I already knew something of the relations existing between the so-called 'interests' and some supposed organs of public opinion.

"Soon after I became Attorney General, I received a succession of visits from a number of prominent lawyers representing different corporations or clusters of corporations with which the Government was, or expected soon to be, in litigation, their professed purpose being to effect, if possible, satisfactory adjustments. The counsel were invariably courteous, but suggested only indulgence to their respective clients and, most of all, delay; and I finally said, in company which made it possible that the remark might perhaps reach the ears of some of them, that I considered further conversation between us futile; for, evidently, they only wanted to find out if I proposed to do my duty in earnest, and they might as well understand, once for all, that I did. Perhaps by a mere coincidence, their visits to the Department ceased thereafter, and, a little later, I heard, from one of

those agencies which sometimes volunteer information to a public officer, that two newspapers, somewhat notoriously identified with 'interests' allied to the persecuted Trusts, had informed their respective Washington representatives of their intention to 'write me out of the Department of Justice.' According to the report, it was not, indeed, supposed that the President could be thus influenced to my prejudice; but I was understood to be an eccentric and irascible personage, with little real liking for public life; and it was hoped that a moderate dose of vituperation and calumny would lead me either to throw up my job in disgust or to say or do something wrathful which might create a scandal. At the time, I paid little attention to this story; but the two newspapers in question did begin almost immediately afterwards to favor me with kind commentaries unblemished by any taint of truth and, with the backing of sundry others apparently obeying the like inspiration, kept up these attentions at intervals until I had left the Department."

No impartial person can examine the files of the newspapers of the country during the year 1907 and escape the conviction that a widespread conspiracy of the kind Bonaparte de-

scribed was in existence and in active operation. It persisted in its assaults upon him till the end of his service, though it was less active in 1908 owing to the fact that proceedings against trusts were held in abeyance because of the Presidential campaign.

But in spite of this hostile attitude of a portion of the press, he was not without friends and admirers among the people. Suggestions of him as a Presidential candidate were made in several quarters and letters reached him urging him to allow his name to be put forward. To one of these, written from Salt Lake City, he replied as follows, under date of January 20, 1908:

"I am duly in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, with enclosures, and beg to thank you sincerely for your kind expressions and intimations. It should, however, be distinctly understood that there can be no serious thought of my candidacy for the Presidency or any other political preferment. Such candidacy is wholly out of the question, and, while I am, of course, gratified by any expressions of approval which may be spontaneously made, such expressions are even more gratifying when they are accompanied by an expression of an opinion as to the desirability of including my name in

the list of Presidential possibilities in which I have no desire to be included."

On the eve of his departure from office Bonaparte gave free rein to his humor giving to the press what he called his "official will" in which he "bequeathed to his successor the following choice collection of actions under the anti-trust law":

"Action against the Standard Oil Trust, second attempt.

"Action against the Tobacco Trust, to dissolve the monopoly in smoke.

"Action against the Powder Trust, with possibilities for pyrotechnics.

"Action against the Turpentine and Naval Stores Trust — a stinger.

"Action against the Anthracite Coal Carriers — a hot case.

"Action against the Harriman railroads — not asleep at the switch.

"Action against the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad — the cutting of a Mellen."

His enemies in the press were horrified by this new revelation of that flippancy which they had sought so strenuously to suppress, declaring that it gave final evidence that he had never taken his office seriously. His "of-

ficial will" attracted wide attention and inspired at least one poem which was published in the Brooklyn *Eagle* on March 3, 1909:

"If Bonaparte has learned the art
Of joking that is mildly tart,
Why, Fate cannot ignore him;
And, easily, as you'll agree,
He discounts all his family,
Though great ones went before him.

The Corsican, a serious man,
Ne'er raised a jest for wits to can
And spring as quite spontaneous;
His humor-sense was almost dense,
Though courtiers stood with eardrums tense
For laughter instantaneous.

The little Nap, a dapper chap,
Kept dignity for aye on tap,
With scorn for all frivolity;
It wasn't wise to advertise,
When he was giving every prize,
The slightest trend toward jollity.

Nor tricks nor gore catch Baltimore,
But satire's pretty sure to score,
And here's a genuine artist;
If he would soar there's chance galore,
He'll maybe run for Governor
As just a Bonapartist!"

CHAPTER XV

HUMOR IN OFFICIAL LIFE

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was wont to say that his sense of humor carried him through official trials and perplexities which otherwise might have proved intolerable. Bonaparte's humor was a constant joy to Roosevelt and was one of the qualities which attracted the President. In fact, the Roosevelt administration, as every one familiar with its personnel knew, was distinguished for its ability to perceive and its eagerness to rejoice in the humorous aspect of things. The President was an inveterate joker and the members of his official household were keenly responsive to his lead. A typical instance occurred while Bonaparte was Attorney-General. The President had been requested by the Secretary of Agriculture to obtain proper labels for various brands of whiskey as required under the Pure Food Law. Roosevelt referred the request to Bonaparte, who responded with an elaborate opinion in which, after discussing at

considerable length the subject of what constituted whiskey, he reached these conclusions:

"The following seem to me appropriate specimen brands or labels for

"(1) 'Straight' whiskey.

"(2) A mixture of two or more 'straight' whiskies.

"(3) A mixture of 'straight' whiskey and ethyl alcohol, and

"(4) Alcohol flavored and colored; as to taste, smell and look like whiskey.

"(1) Semper Idem whiskey: a pure, straight whiskey mellowed by age.

"(2) E Pluribus Unum whiskey: A blend of pure, straight whiskies with all the merits of each.

"(3) Modern Improved whiskey: A compound of pure grain distillates, mellow and free from harmful impurities.

"(4) Something better than whiskey: An imitation under the pure food law, free from fusel oil and other impurities.

"In the third specimen it is assumed that both the whiskey and the alcohol are distilled from grain."

In transmitting the opinion to the Secretary of Agriculture the President wrote:

"I agree with this opinion and direct that

action be taken in accordance with it. Straight whiskey will be labeled as such. A mixture of two or more straight whiskies will be labeled blended whiskey or whiskies. A mixture of straight whiskey and ethyl alcohol, provided that there is a sufficient amount of straight whiskey to make it genuinely a 'mixture,' will be labeled as compound or compounded with pure grain distillate. Imitation whiskey will be labeled as such."

The opinion excited the wrath of both distillers and blenders and greatly incensed the prohibitionists and anti-saloon people. The corresponding secretary of the Anti-Saloon League of America wrote a furious letter to the President, citing the label, "E Pluribus Unum whiskey," etc., and adding: "I cannot think that yourself or the Attorney General can have used any such language what (*sic*) would seem to justify the appropriation of the national motto as a name for a grade of whiskey and to guarantee the same as a compound of 'pure, straight whiskies,' and 'with all the merits of each.' "

The President sent this letter to Bonaparte with this inscription in his own hand. "Oh! Oh! This is worse than sinking the *Constitution!* T. R."

I am indebted to the Honorable James R. Garfield, who was Secretary of the Interior in Roosevelt's Cabinet when Bonaparte was also a member of it, for the following incident at one of the Cabinet meetings. I quote it in Mr. Garfield's words:

"Mr. Bonaparte had sent some special agents to the Territory of New Mexico for the purpose of investigating certain charges that had been made regarding public land transactions. Governor Curry came to Washington for a conference regarding those matters. Curry was an interesting character, an ex-Rough Rider, who, after the Spanish war, served with the Constabulary in the Philippines. He was appointed Governor of the Territory of New Mexico because the President believed that he would be able to handle the situation which was rather acute at that time.

"The Governor told me that he was having difficulty with the special agents sent by Mr. Bonaparte; that they were men who knew nothing about the West and Western conditions. I told him he should have a conference with Mr. Bonaparte and felt sure that he could reach an amicable solution of the difficulty. He objected, stating as his reason that Mr. Bonaparte knew nothing of the West. I, how-

ever, insisted on the interview. Within an hour the Governor returned, his face redder than usual. He stated that the interview had terminated as he expected and it was useless for him to attempt negotiations with Mr. Bonaparte. The Governor reported his interview about as follows:

" 'I told the Attorney General that I didn't intend to have any of his damned cheap skates operating in my territory. In answer the Attorney General said that if that was my opinion it was probably useless for us to continue the interview.'

"I told the Governor that I did not think his approach to the Attorney General showed the fine diplomacy that I expected him to use.

"The matter was of extreme importance as bearing upon the relations of the Department of Justice and the Department of the Interior. I told the President, informally, of what had occurred and he agreed that he would bring the matter up at Cabinet meeting the next day.

"The President brought it up with his usual tact and humor, stating about as follows:

" 'I understand that a matter of serious importance has arisen between the Departments of Justice and Interior, of such importance as to require Cabinet action. I am advised that

yesterday the Governor of New Mexico, a most diplomatic gentleman, at a conference with the Attorney General, entered a protest against certain agents of the Department of Justice operating in New Mexico, that the Attorney General declined to entertain the protest and that thereupon the Governor of New Mexico had drawn two six-shooters and threatened the life of the Attorney General. I was further informed that the Attorney General, with true legal instinct, avoided the issue by disappearing through a window, that the Governor followed, but fortunately the Attorney General, being more agile, escaped the wrath of the diplomatic Governor.'

"The President's remarks were addressed directly to the Attorney General. Mr. Bonaparte immediately replied that he thought, when the President and the members of the Cabinet thoroughly understood the situation they would agree that his actions were entirely justified; that the diplomatic Governor had introduced the subject by referring to the agents of the Department of Justice as 'damned cheap skates'; that he replied to this characterization stating that the Department of Justice was not a hardware store and that if the Governor entertained such an opinion of the Depart-

ment it would be unnecessary to continue the conference.

"At this point Mr. Root, the Secretary of State, interrupted with the following:

" 'Mr. President, this is certainly a matter for very grave Cabinet consideration. We certainly cannot permit our Gallic cock to be changed into a Curry-ed chicken.'

"After this remark the question was seriously considered and settled without any difficulty. It showed, however, the humor of the President, Mr. Bonaparte and the Secretary of State."

It was the custom of President Roosevelt and his wife to follow each of the official receptions which took place every winter with an informal supper that was served at small tables in the corridor which extended across the second story of the White House. At each supper the wife of a different Cabinet Minister was assigned a seat at the President's table. No wife was given a place at the same table as her husband. On one of these occasions Mrs. Bonaparte was placed at the President's table and with her were Secretary Root and the President's sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson. The President was in a gay mood, as were Mr. Root and Mrs. Robinson, and they capped one another's amusing

anecdotes with much zest and hilarity. Mrs. Bonaparte was the quiet member of the party, saying little but hugely enjoying the rare entertainment. As Secretary Bonaparte was bidding the President good night, he said to him: "Mr. President, there was one very noisy table this evening." "Yes," retorted Roosevelt, looking very stern, "and that was Mrs. Bonaparte's table!"

One other incident in the closing days of the Roosevelt administration greatly amused Bonaparte, although it was a bit of unconscious humor on the part of the other actor in it. From the moment of Taft's election to the Presidency, Bonaparte had been looking forward eagerly to getting out of office and out of public life. He had told Taft that he did not wish to be considered by him in the making up of his Cabinet. Taft at first had thought of continuing Roosevelt's Cabinet for a time and had so informed Roosevelt. Later he changed his mind, but did not inform the Roosevelt members of that fact. Shortly before his inauguration he sent a letter to Bonaparte saying, in substance, that he regretted in making up his Cabinet that he should be unable to consider his, Bonaparte's, name. Mr. E. S. Gauss, who was Bonaparte's private Secretary while he was in the

Cabinet, says he was present with Bonaparte when this letter was received, and that, on reading it, Bonaparte threw back his head and fairly roared with laughter, saying: "What will Garfield and the others say!" Later he wrote to Taft as follows, on February 17, 1909:

"Your letter caused me much surprise for I had supposed it was generally understood that I expected to retire to private life at the close of the present administration. Since last summer I have made arrangements to leave Washington permanently on March 5, and, soon after your election, I gave out an interview announcing that I neither expected nor desired to hold any public office after the close of President Roosevelt's term. I had, indeed, let this be known previously, and the President has been, for a considerable time, aware of the fact."

An interesting glimpse of Bonaparte's conduct and methods in office is afforded in this description by Mr. Gauss:

"In the office he was never idle and never hurried, always good natured and on the lookout for a chance to make a joke, not always up to top form, but when he did put a good one over it was worth having. He had schooled himself to absolute mental control. He ap-

parently allowed himself no mental reflexes. He was able to read word by word and at the same time read rapidly, but he was moderation itself in writing. He dearly loved to get a pad and pencil and put down letter by letter the thought he had in mind and painstakingly rubbing out the wrong word or the poorly made letter.

"In the rush of department business, it was agony to wait for him to write out a three-line endorsement by hand and I devoted a good deal of planning to schemes to keep paper and a pencil away from him.

"There were generally a number of matters on which decision had been deferred and frequently in the morning he would say, 'Well, let's call the docket,' and about 4.30 he would say, 'I think we can adjourn court now.' He hated making official calls which had to be made after office hours, and his comment next day was whether or not he had the luck to find the people not at home.

"I have a very high and proud recollection of the time I was privileged to be with him. I presume a private secretary might be called the valet of a great man's mental processes. I think Mr. Bonaparte was a great man. If he had been raised in the common way of life

he would have made a more prominent conventional figure, possibly would have been ranked with those we call our great men, but he achieved to be a unique character."

Mr. Gauss says that Bonaparte did not like to talk of the Bonapartes, that he refused all applications to write about them and habitually spoke of Napoleon with condemnation. He was badgered constantly to buy Napoleonic relics of one kind or another, and always replied in letters like the following, written from the Navy Department on August 18, 1905:

"You have been misinformed as to my being an 'extensive collector of Napoleonana'; in fact I have made it a rule, for a great number of years, never, under any circumstances, to acquire by purchase a relic or memento of the Bonaparte family."

One other letter, written at about the same time, shortly after he had delivered an address on "Anarchism," may be cited in evidence of his perennial humor:

"My mail includes now a great many letters from cranks of various degrees, some denouncing and some approving of my views about Anarchism and its remedies. One of them covered, not merely his letter, but his envelope, with ferocious criticism in red crayon; the con-

clusion of this being: 'Skedoo, — are you not the successor of Paul Morton?' I suppose that I must admit that I am, and he may think that I am taking his advice, for I leave for Lenox early tomorrow."

CHAPTER XVI

RETURN TO PRIVATE LIFE

FEW men who had held high positions in the public service ever returned to private life more joyfully than did Bonaparte when he went out of office with President Roosevelt in March, 1908. He had, in fact, as his correspondence shows, been looking forward eagerly to his return for nearly a year before it came. Though he had been deeply interested in his professional work and conscientiously devoted to it, his distaste for politics and his slight respect for politicians had made the political side of it irksome to him. He remained as little as possible in Washington, passing his week-ends and holidays in Baltimore or at his country place outside that city and doing much of his work there, as well as on the trains between Baltimore and Washington. When his official life ended, therefore, it could not be said so much that he returned to Baltimore as that he had ceased to go to Washington.

He dropped back readily and naturally into his old life. His former clients returned to him

and he resumed his law practice where he had left it off three years earlier substantially unchanged. As for his activities in behalf of honest government in Baltimore and Maryland, he had continued those undiminished while in the Cabinet, making frequent addresses in each campaign, and these he maintained after his return until the day of his death. In 1909 he renewed the opposition to the Disfranchising Amendments to the State Constitution which he had begun in 1905 and succeeded in securing their final defeat. He also continued with unabated zeal his advocacy of Civil Service Reform and Municipal Government Reform, attending regularly the annual meetings of the two leagues devoted to those causes, and making many addresses on those and kindred subjects in various parts of the country, in response to demands which came to him constantly and which he seldom refused.

In general, it is to be said of these later addresses that while they were marked with the same superior literary quality which distinguished all of his forensic efforts, they were somewhat more elaborate in construction and more philosophic in tone than his earlier ones, revealing clearly the wide range of his reading and his intimate knowledge of the works of the

best and most serious minds of past and present times.

Speaking as the President of the National Municipal League before the Canadian Club at Montreal in April, 1910, he said:

"The one thing indispensable, the one thing without which good government of any kind or degree is impossible, and which, under reasonable limitations, takes the place and supplies the want of all others, is good *men*. If you have as public officers men thoroughly honorable and conscientious and also sufficiently intelligent and sufficiently educated to understand and discharge their duties, you will have, whatever the defects of your statutes or customs, a good government; if your places of public trust are filled by ignorant, incompetent, self-seeking or unscrupulous men, you may multiply checks and balances, you may devise all sorts of ingenious and complicated safeguards, but, whatever its scientific merits in theory, your machine of government will in practice work ill. Institutions are in politics what fortifications are in war; each, if well planned, may aid good and brave men to do their duty; neither can take the place of such men. It was not breastworks nor riflepits that stopped Pickett at Gettysburg; a brave enemy

will ever have a picnic with forts and big guns and all sorts of elaborate engines of destruction whose defenders take to their heels; and in administration, no less than warfare, it is, after all, the human element that counts."

In an address on "The Civic Responsibilities of Girls," at Bryn Mawr School, on June 4, 1910, he gave utterance to views that are of special interest in these later days of woman suffrage:

"The effect of steady, unremitting talk on the part of all the women in a community as to a matter about which they are really in earnest may well be almost terrible. King Agesilaos said that no Spartan woman had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp fire. This was true very largely because the women themselves were so thoroughly in earnest as to how those called to keep enemies at a distance fulfilled their duties. How thoroughly they were in earnest was rather pathetically illustrated by the fate of the sole survivor of Thermopylæ. The laws of Sparta forbade a Spartan citizen to return from a lost battle; if he reappeared in the City except as a victor, no matter who he was or what might be his excuses, he was instantly put to death. At Thermopylæ Leonidas repulsed on successive days two detachments of

Persian troops and, in the night following the second of these engagements, learned that his position had been turned through the capture by surprise of a path over the mountains. Before the third attack, in which the King and all his followers fell, Leonidas sent off one of the three hundred Spartan citizens who were under his command, a certain Aristodemos, to acquaint the authorities at Sparta with the impending destruction of his entire force. When Aristodemos reached Sparta, the question arose whether he ought not to be executed, and the answer turned on whether the conflicts in the Pass were to be considered as one battle or as three. After prolonged deliberation by the Gerousia, or Spartan Senate, it was decided to give Aristodemos the benefit of the doubt; but this decision was extremely distasteful to the Spartan women, who, unlike those of most other Greek cities, took and were encouraged to take a profound and lively interest in public affairs.

"The widows of those who had fallen at Thermopylæ therefore adopted the amiable practice of telling Aristodemos whenever they met him that, since he had returned, they supposed they would soon see their husbands again, and these and other similar kind remarks made poor Aris-

todemos regret that the Gerousia had decided his case as it did. Consequently when he fought at Platæa, he rushed alone into the Persian lines, slew many of the enemy and obtained the death he coveted; but his bravery in no wise disarmed the hostility of his fair critics. It was shown that he had not awaited the order to charge and, since disobedience to orders is a mortal sin among a military people, his remains were not accorded the honors of a Spartan citizen's funeral.

"I am not prepared to advise you to imitate the ladies of Sparta in all respects, but, as we have seen, their unbending severity towards any breach, even if one merely constructive, of the strictest code of military duty among Spartan men, had its reward. They saw no smoke of an enemy's camp-fire, because they saw to it that the men of Sparta were not desirable neighbors for those who would light such camp-fires. You will be able to render one day the same office to sons and brothers, lovers and husbands, called in your time to deal with enemies, bitter and dangerous enemies, to good government, to pure politics, to honesty and fair dealing in public life."

In an address at Utica, N. Y., at about the same date he said:

"'No man is free who is not master of himself'; no voter is free who is not, in truth and not in mere semblance, master of his vote; no people, whatever the name or form of its government, is free unless its rulers are those, and those only, it would have as rulers. If its action be hampered, its wishes be over-ridden, in their choice, whether this constraint be the work of a foreign conqueror, a legal autocrat, or oligarchy, or an extra-legal ruler or ruling body, a 'boss' or a 'ring,' a 'leader,' a 'machine' or an 'organization,' then, in all these cases alike, the result is the same, the people is not free, a community thus governed has not self-government.

"Of course, it may have good government, much better government than it could give itself. Freedom to a baby means death; to a youth it means often the wreck of all present or future usefulness and happiness: even a young man left too soon

"'Lord of himself, that heritage of woe!'

may have every reason to echo the bitter words of the poet. So a people, as suggested by Mr. Mill, may be in a state of 'nonage' socially and politically, which, for a time at least, would make self-government in its case

no less a 'heritage of woe' than for the untrained, unformed individual. Such a people may well thank Heaven if it find, as Mr. Mill says, 'an Akbar or a Charlemagne,' that is to say, a just, wise, brave, unselfish 'boss' (whether he may call himself King, Emperor, Dictator or something else matters little) or an enlightened and public-spirited 'ring' or 'machine' (whose members may or may not be enrolled in a Golden Book) to guide its infant steps in national life: but the American Nation is not such a people, and our political leaders and organizations fulfil no such self-sacrificing function."

Speaking before the Gilman County School in Baltimore, in February, 1911, on the point that a man's political opinions in no way affect his fitness for a non-political office, he made the following quotation from Macaulay:

"'The points of difference between Christianity and Judaism have very much to do with a man's fitness to be a Bishop or a Rabbi. But they have no more to do with his fitness to be a magistrate, a legislator or a minister of finance, than with his fitness to be a cobbler. Nobody has ever thought of compelling cobblers to make any declaration of the true faith of the Christian. Any man would rather have his

shoes mended by a heretical cobbler than by a person who had subscribed all the thirty-nine articles, but had never handled an awl. Men act thus, not because they are indifferent to religion, but because they do not see what religion has to do with the mending of their shoes. Yet religion has as much to do with the mending of shoes as with the budget and the army estimates.'

"And" [said Bonaparte], "politics have as much to do with the mending of shoes as with the arrest of criminals or the extinction of fires. The points of difference between Republicanism and Democracy have very much to do with a man's fitness to be a President or a Congressman, but they also have nothing in the world to do with his fitness to be a policeman or a fireman."

In another address, at Wilmington, Del., also in February, 1911, he said:

"When I was an Overseer of Harvard, I was much impressed by a remark made once by President Eliot to the effect, in substance, that if we would have a man give himself up wholly, without reserve and without thought of consequences, to any work or any cause, we should hold out to him rewards with no commercial value; a mere new name, a trinket and a bit

of ribbon, a metal disk with a few graven letters, simple mention in a report or an order; it is for such things as these that men throw away their interests and their pleasures and their very lives. Colonel Napier, refuting the argument, used in his day to justify the pillage of a town taken by storm, that soldiers would not fight unless they had the hope of loot (just as, even in our day, it has been argued that sailors would not fight unless they had the hope of prize money), declares, with obvious truth, that of all the hundreds of men who scrambled through or fell in the breaches of Badajos not one, if sane and free to choose, would have faced such danger for ten times the money value of all the plunder he could expect to find. Such work is not done for mere money or money's worth; when we ask a man to take his life in his hands, a big dividend isn't 'in it' as a bait if compared with a little medal. It cannot be said that municipal reformers ask their fellow citizens to face imminent danger to life or limb, but they do ask these fellow citizens to join in a tedious and laborious, a costly and embittered conflict with powerful and vindictive enemies; they seek recruits for a bloodless but obstinate, acrimonious and protracted civic warfare; and, to secure such enlist[illegible] re-

member these recognized facts of human nature, pointed out by the wisest writers and thinkers and proved by the experience of mankind."

Speaking at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League at Philadelphia, on December 14, 1911, he made a striking quotation from Washington:

"If anything is old in American political life, it is the doctrine that 'public office is a public trust'; if anything is a notoriously foreign importation or a novel invention it is the doctrine that 'to the victor belong the spoils,' or, in other words, that the holder of a great administrative office, say, for the sake of illustration, the mayor of a city like Baltimore, does his duty and complies with his oath when he quarters his 'friends,' personal or political, on the taxpayers for support. Compare with the discreditable sophistry which seeks to justify such official conduct the plain words of Washington. He says in one of his letters:

'My friend I receive with cordial welcome. He is welcome to my house and welcome to my heart; but with all his good qualities he is not a man of business. His opponent, with all his politics so hostile to me, *is* a man of business. My private feelings have nothing to do in the

case. I am not George Washington, but President of the United States. As George Washington I would do this man any kindness in my power — as President of the United States I can do nothing.' "

In an address entitled "Some Reminiscences of a Trust Buster," which he delivered before the Boston City Club, on February 15, 1912, he said:

"While Talleyrand was an exile in the United States he described the American character as marked by two conspicuous traits, a great love of liberty and a great thirst for wealth. I am not here to discuss whether the Americans of his day ought to have been or the Americans of today ought to be what he found them; like all other men, past and present Americans have been and are neither as good nor as bad as men may be. But what he said was then and is now true. In the century and a sixth which have flown since he wrote these words we have indeed grown from a few feeble provinces scattered between the ocean and the wilderness into a great nation; vast multitudes of foreigners have become, truly or in name, Americans, and among the alien elements thus entering into our body politic some may be but half or three-parts digested; but Americans, whether

by birth or adoption, have today the same love of liberty and the same thirst for wealth which Talleyrand found in the Americans of his day; when any men really begin to be really Americans they begin to demand freedom in seeking riches."

In his annual address before the National Civil Service League, December 5, 1912, he showed that in spite of reform success in Maryland abuses still lingered in the public service of the State:

"During the legislative session before the last one, it had been a source of great difficulty to the statesmen to find titles for the employees. They called them doorkeepers, but there were so many more doorkeepers than there were doors that they had to have their assistants and second assistants and deputy doorkeepers. I believe they had a flag raiser who was paid five dollars a day for raising the flag, no other employee being able to spend the five minutes necessary to do that; they also had an assistant flag raiser who was to look on while the flag raiser raised the flag."

CHAPTER XVII

FAVORED ROOSEVELT FOR PRESIDENT IN 1912

IN the triangular Presidential contest of 1912, Bonaparte was an earnest supporter of the candidacy of Roosevelt. He took that position without a moment's hesitation or shadow of doubt because of his complete understanding of and implicit faith in Roosevelt's character and ability, a faith based upon a knowledge that had been acquired in many years of close intimacy and upon official association in the administration of the national government. He not only had absolute faith in him but a genuine and deep affection for him and a profound admiration for his talents as a leader and ruler. All this he revealed in the sympathetic and beautiful tribute which he paid to Roosevelt at the time of his death, in which he said:

"Theodore Roosevelt was a man of extraordinary powers and, to those who knew him well and understood him, a man of most attractive character and qualities. Doubtless he was

sometimes gravely misunderstood: his mental processes were so abnormally rapid, that he often seemed to act with little or no reflection, when he had, in fact, considered the question at issue most thoroughly and conscientiously although, perhaps, in one-tenth of the time which would have been needed for the purpose by an ordinary man. Moreover the strength of his convictions and the vivacity of his speech and manner confused and frightened timid men or those who knew him but slightly, and led them to think of and describe him as arbitrary and overbearing: he was, in truth, somewhat exceptionally anxious for information, assistance and advice from those for whom he felt respect and in whom he had confidence; but only one who wasn't afraid of him could fairly judge or really like him. He had the stern sense of duty, the lofty purpose and the strict morals of puritanism, without any of its prudishness or pharisaism or affectation of virtue. He detested falsehood in every form and shams of every kind, and, throughout his long and stormy career as a public servant and a political leader, always fought fairly and in the open, and was restrained by the instincts of a gentleman and the scruples of a man of honor. It were needless to speak of his patriot-

ism or his courage,— the events of his life sufficiently attest these,— but it is the firm belief of the writer that his profound wisdom, the unselfishness of his devotion to duty, and his immense usefulness to his country will be more clearly recognized and more highly esteemed by each successive generation of Americans in our national future."

Holding this opinion as strongly in 1912 as he did in 1919, Bonaparte could see no question of choice for him between Roosevelt and any other candidate for the Presidency. In his campaign speeches he expressed the same views as those quoted. In one of them, delivered shortly after the attempt on Roosevelt's life at Milwaukee, on October 14, 1912, reviewing the issues of the campaign and the qualifications of the three candidates, he said:

"The outrage at Milwaukee showed that Theodore Roosevelt has certain qualities of inestimable value in a President: courage, self-forgetfulness, patriotism, inflexible firmness of purpose, coolness and presence of mind in a moment of natural agitation and perfect calmness of judgment amid physical pain and danger. True, he had displayed all these qualities before and his firm hold on the people's respect and affection was largely due to this very fact: but the

act of the wretch who tried to kill him gave him an opportunity to recall to the memory of his fellow countrymen how worthy he is to be their President: the most hard-headed, the least sentimental of voters may be very reasonably influenced in casting his ballot by this very striking object-lesson. To elect an unfit man to the Presidency because a miscreant had sought his life would be simple folly: to vote for a man because he has been proven brave, unselfish, thoughtful of his country's good, *tenax propositi* and wholly master of himself when confronted by great and sudden peril, would be to act wisely, worthily and as a patriot in the discharge of one's duty as a voter. If Theodore Roosevelt shall gain votes by reason of his attempted murder, it will be because he has shown that he deserved to gain these votes, because he has proven himself yet more clearly than he had been proven before worthy to be once more this great Nation's President."

In 1916 Bonaparte urged strongly the nomination of Roosevelt as the Republican candidate. When Mr. Hughes was made the nominee, he decided to support him chiefly on the ground of disapproval of President Wilson's course. In the single campaign speech which he made, before the Progressive State Central Committee

of Maryland, on September 15, 1916, he said, after reviewing Wilson's Mexican and pre-war policies:

"Mr. Hughes is not the man I wished to see nominated for the Presidency: like the election of Mr. Taft in 1908; like the election of Mr. Wilson in 1912, his election, if he shall be elected, will be, in some measure, an experiment, and, in our present critical position, I urged the choice of a man who had been already tried in this great trust and who had made good. But Mr. Hughes' record of public service will make his choice, if he be chosen, at least a promising experiment; and I must give him my vote when the only alternative is to promote, directly or indirectly, the election of a man whose administration had been, to my mind, a signal and ignominious failure. I make no prediction as to the result in November; I neither expect nor desire to take any active part in the campaign, nor, in the event of Mr. Hughes' success, to have any say, except as a critic, with regard to his course, whether in Maryland or elsewhere."

CHAPTER XVIII

ATTITUDE IN THE WORLD WAR

IT was not only natural but inevitable that a man in such complete accord with Theodore Roosevelt on questions pertaining to national defense as Bonaparte had shown himself to be while Secretary of the Navy, should take his stand with him on the question of preparedness when the great World War began. It cannot be said that Bonaparte followed Roosevelt's lead in the matter, for the two men took the field together, each discerning early in the conflict the danger which threatened the country through inaction and delay. Both men were earnestly striving by public appeals to arouse the nation to a realization of its peril early in the year 1914. A few days after war was declared in August, 1914, Bonaparte began the publication of a series of articles in the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, urging the need of immediate measures of preparedness. In one on August 15, he said:

"While we retain our calmness it is our place to recall to mind those less happy in

the changeless and eternal principles of justice and fair dealing; but, in doing this, we must shun as an abomination all affectation of pharisaical self-righteousness and never forget, even for a moment, that tomorrow we may be at war ourselves, and it is our good fortune, not at all our superior virtue or wisdom, which keeps us at peace today. For this reason demonstration of protest against all wars and grandmotherly lectures to the belligerents are mere foolishness at a time like this; such talk addressed to people whose native land is in great peril and whose sons and brothers are meeting death in its defense is always received with a mixture of exasperation and ridicule and breeds only dislike and contempt for its sources. If we would have our warring brethren listen to us, what we say must show them we own ourselves men of precisely the same clay as theirs and only through the inscrutable decrees of God's providence, for the moment, more blessed."

In another, on August 22, under the title of "Preparedness and Progress," he said:

"By all means let us never draw our sword except to promote right, justice and the good of mankind; but let us always be sure that we have a sword and a sharp one, to draw if

right, justice and the good of mankind require that it be drawn and used. In the words of Cromwell, let us pray, pray most humbly and fervently, for light and help in time of need; but let us also keep our powder dry, and have plenty of it."

In a third, on August 29, he referred to the arguments which pacifists were making against preparedness of any kind:

"The writer has noted recently various publications to the effect that the present general war shows the futility of preparedness for war as a form of peace insurance. Does life insurance prevent a man's death? Does fire insurance prevent a house burning up? Does marine insurance prevent ships going to the bottom? Does casualty insurance make accidents impossible? In all these cases the calamity against which we insure is just as likely to happen with insurance as it is without, but its consequences may be vastly less disastrous. As a matter of fact, however, general preparedness through Europe unquestionably did aid very materially in postponing for many years a war which was certain to come some day; just as a man, by prudence, sobriety and intelligent care for his health, may prolong his life, although he is the destined prey of death some time. It would

seem, indeed, that the minds of those people who publish the mischievous sophistries above noted are, for the most part, quite impervious to truth and reason; but, fortunately, these people make up an infinitesimal fraction of the sensible, honest, and patriotic American nation."

In an address which he made in Baltimore on February 19, 1915, Bonaparte said:

"Belgium and Luxembourg cower under the despotic rule of a foreign soldiery; China lies open to any aggression, the helpless prey of any invader who would insolently seize her ports or use her territory as battle-fields in foreign wars. It is the plain and solemn duty of our Federal government and of the American Nation itself to so thoroughly 'provide for the common defence,' that, if merely human foresight and valor and sacrifice can prevent the calamity, no such a fate as this shall ever befall us or our posterity. The Nation owes this duty to every one of the hundred millions of human beings or more who rightfully own its sway; nay, it owes this duty to all the Americans, now in their honored graves, whose labors, sufferings, and blood built up and saved this great Union, to all the Americans yet unborn who shall look to us to hand down to them unimpaired the heritage of honor and freedom and

happiness bequeathed to us by those who have gone before.

"'By our children's golden future,
By our fathers' stainless shield,
That which God and heroes left us
We will never, never yield!'

"We were thus left 'the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity' and a country whereof no American need feel ashamed."

After speaking of the uselessness of "notes" and "protests," and remonstrances of various kinds to offending nations, he continued:

"There is an old legend of a peasant lad, who wandered into an enchanted valley and found there a great army of mail-clad knights and, on a huge stone in the midst, a sword and a horn. A fairy-like being told him he must choose one of the two, and that greatness and renown would be his if he chose aright. He preferred the horn and blew a loud blast whereupon the knights and the valley itself melted into mist, and a swift wind swept him back into his common-place life, while a scornful voice cried out:

"'Accursed be the coward, that ever he was born!
He that would not draw the sword before he
blew the horn.'

"A nation that makes the like choice will hear the like words."

In an address before the National Security League on June 14, 1915, he said:

"Our rulers and those who make or keep them our rulers will bear a terrible responsibility if we, a nation of 100,000,000 of people, with probably greater natural resources, greater accumulated wealth, and greater latent strength than any other nation under Heaven, through sheer laziness, cowardice, frivolity, or folly, shall be left in such a state of self-imposed helplessness that, for us, serious invasion shall mean, of necessity, utter defeat and subjugation: this is very nearly our state at present."

He continued to make addresses on these lines frequently during 1915, 1916, and 1917, recalling the sad experience of the country under Jefferson and Madison because of their failures in preparedness, and urging the wisdom and imperative necessity of profiting by it. In 1917 he took up the subject of compulsory universal training, saying of its effects, in a speech at Baltimore on March 26, 1917:

"We would teach our boys discipline and the use of arms, so that they may fight well, precisely as we teach them to read and write and at least the rudiments of physical sciences and history and geography and mathematics, so

that they may work to good purpose and increase the Nation's wealth, and yet more clearly so that they may vote with enlightenment and public spirit and choose wisely our public servants. We would instil into their minds the great military virtues of self-sacrifice and obedience to lawful authority just as we try to teach them honesty and industry and sobriety, the mastery of their passions and respect for the rights of others. Most of all we should seek to make them patriots; for, if they do not grow up patriots, they will be, in effect, public enemies, and all the more odious and noxious and dangerous public enemies because we have given them an education at public expense and entrusted to them a share in the government of our country."

How closely he and Roosevelt were in sympathy at this time was disclosed in a brief letter from the latter to Bonaparte under date of March 14, 1917, in which after speaking of various matters, Roosevelt wrote: "Oh Lord! I wish I could see you and unburden my soul."

After the United States had entered the war he made an address before the alumni of the Law School of the University of Maryland, at Baltimore, on January 29, 1918, when he said of the German requests for an armistice:

"The Kaiser and his counselors are like

Hamilcar at the close of the First Punic War; they see that yet further preparation is needful to assure victory and they need peace to give time and opportunity for this further preparation. In dealing with them, I would have our statesmen bear in mind a story, very probably apocryphal, but none the less apposite, of Marshal Narvaez. He was a Spanish statesman and commander, noted for acts of arbitrary and ruthless severity; and, when he was about to die, his spiritual adviser urged him to forgive from his heart all of his many enemies. 'Father,' replied the dying man, 'I have not an enemy in the world.' 'Oh, my son!' said the good priest, 'you speak unadvisedly. No one could be so long in public life as you have been without making enemies.' 'Undoubtedly,' answered the old Marshal, 'I made a great many; but, so far as I know, I have had them all shot. I forgive them freely and cheerfully now.' Under the like conditions, I should approve of similar magnanimity on our part as a nation."

His subject in this address was "Why we are in the war and how we may win it," and on the second point he said:

"We are in the war to win out, and until we win out, what must we do to assure our win-

ning out, and, so far as may be, to shorten the process? To this question any number of answers are daily shouted at us, but common sense and human experience reduce them to one: we shall win the war by hard, effective, and successful fighting; we shall win it in that way, and in no other way, if we win it at all; and we shall advance the date of our final victory by employing the right men to guide and lead in such hard, effective and successful fighting and by giving those men, as quickly as possible, all the troops, ships, arms, munitions and supplies which they can use to advantage. Up to the present time we have done one thing, and one thing only, on a scale commensurate with the gigantic task before us: we have spent public money as lavishly as could be asked by the most exacting critic; but, in every other respect, if a patriotic American is content with our achievements, he must be readily satisfied."

His views on President Wilson's League of Nations were expressed with his customary vigor and clarity in an address before the Arundell Club in Baltimore on December 20, 1919:

"As to the League of Nations for which provision is made in the Treaty of Versailles I have a very clear and decided opinion, an opinion which I have deemed it my duty as a citizen

to express publicly on all appropriate occasions. To my mind, its effects will be to give foreign powers an excuse for meddling in our business, to greatly increase for us the danger of friction, controversy, and war and, at the same time, to aid pacifists and other mischievous dreamers to mislead public opinion as to our need for preparedness in future, as they have misled it in the past at a cost to us of billions of money and tens of thousands of lives. Moreover, I can see in it no really effective safeguard for peace; but, on the contrary, a tendency to make every war a world war by forbidding neutrality. Its mere suggestion has already threatened to make the affairs of Egypt, Korea, India, China, and especially Ireland, subject matter for partisan exploitation in the manœuvres of American politicians; and I, at least, see in this only harm and peril for us and harm and peril for all mankind.

"Such is my opinion, but were it *my* opinion *only*, it were hardly worthy to be weighed in a debate so momentous: it is, however, also the deliberate judgment of our best and ablest statesmen embodied in the time-hallowed policy of our Country and most forcibly expressed in the Farewell Address. Doubtless George Washington knew much less than Henry Ford knows

about making cheap automobiles or about making a vast fortune for himself out of their manufacture. Moreover, his education may have been imperfect, according to our modern ideas, in other respects; he knew nothing about microbes and bacteria, about telephones and telegraphs, about aeroplanes and submarines, about railroads and steamships, even about National Prohibition and the Suffrage Amendment. But, like Themistocles, he *did* know how to make a small state a great one: he left us a policy which, under God's Providence, has changed our Nation from a fringe of sparsely settled colonies, dividing a wilderness from an ocean, into one of the greatest powers, in latent strength unquestionably *the* greatest power, of the civilized world; which has multiplied our population some forty fold and expanded our national wealth beyond the limits of trustworthy computation during our one hundred and thirty years of life as a nation under our present Constitution; and, although he never fitted up a 'Peace Ship' or otherwise established his fitness to have honor among the prophets and apostles of Peace in these happy days, his policy has availed to make more than nine-tenths of those hundred and thirty years, years of tranquil, prosperous, fruitful peace."

Speaking on April 29, 1920, before a chapter of the "Daughters of the American Revolution" on the subject of "Two Lessons of the Past Four Years," he said:

"In the first place, we have had another illustration, and a very striking one, of the significant and well-established fact that, in our case at least, the most effective safeguard of peace is thorough preparedness, both material and moral, for war. It may be a mere coincidence, but it may also be something more, and, in any event, it is certainly true, that we have never had a war with a civilized enemy while our President was a soldier. Under Washington and Jackson and Taylor and Grant our Country enjoyed all the blessings of peace at home and abroad; under John Adams, we had hostilities with France; under Thomas Jefferson, we had war with Tripoli; under James Madison, we had war with Great Britain. James K. Polk was our President when we drifted into war with Mexico; William McKinley, when we drifted into war with Spain; James Buchanan when we drifted into our own Civil War; Woodrow Wilson when we had war forced upon us three years ago.

"To my mind, the second noteworthy lesson of the past four years is that the rulers of a

great nation, like all other men in all other stations and callings, if they would escape disaster, must be guided in their policies, not by vain dreams, not by empty visions, conjured up through wilful self-deception, but by the truth. Had William of Hohenzollern seen things as they were, and acted on what he thus saw, he would be today the powerful and prosperous Emperor of a powerful and prosperous empire. Had Nicholas of Russia and Francis Joseph of Austria seen things as they were, and practically accepted what they knew in their hearts to be facts, Austria would be still a nation and Russia would not be a witches' cauldron of abominations and horrors. Had Great Britain heeded the wise counsel of Lord Roberts, had France always turned a perfectly deaf ear to the pernicious advice of her pacifists, had Belgian politicians lost less time in giving their country universal military service, hundreds of thousands of lives had been spared and myriads of homes had escaped desolation. Finally, had our own government commenced to place the nation in a state of defense in the Summer of 1914, instead of in the Spring of 1917, and it was sheer wilful blindness which prevented this, we should have saved at least half of our present national debt, preserved for useful and

happy lives many thousands of our best young men and spared mankind perhaps two years of the war's agony."

Among the later letters that he wrote were several to Mrs. David E. Wheeler, of Geneva, New York, a cousin of his wife. In one of them, under date of December 9, 1918, he said of the League of Nations:

"Stated briefly, I may say that I think a League of Nations, made up of those States and peoples which have taken part in the war and aided to bring it to a victorious conclusion, might be of some use, and, in time, develop into an agency of greater utility than at present, and, perhaps, aid materially in safeguarding the peace of the world. An attempt at the present time to organize a League, including, beside these nations, those who have sat still and looked on during the war, and even the vanquished enemies, would, in my opinion, be perfectly useless for all practical purposes, and, in fact, would virtually die in getting born."

In another, written about a year later, on December 19, 1919, he gave a quite remarkably accurate forecast of what occurred in the Republican National Convention of 1920:

"The developments of politics are so far satisfactory that they tend greatly to confirm

my already exalted opinion of my own wisdom and foresight, but otherwise I do not feel particularly enthusiastic over them. The candidacy of General Wood is moving along precisely the lines that I expected. The Republican politicians who control the party machinery are either themselves largely interested in enterprises dependent on legislation and administrative favors for prosperity or else are employed by such enterprises, and both of these classes are intensely hostile to a man who is at once the intimate friend of Theodore Roosevelt and of exceptional independence and strength of character; therefore he will certainly be turned down as a candidate for the Presidency unless they are driven into nominating him by the utter impossibility of getting any other suitable candidate. I can say nothing definite about the Maryland delegation: it will be nominated by unscrupulous politicians, and will have substantially the same sentiments and wishes as the other statesmen who assemble at Chicago on the day before my next birthday; but it is quite possible that there may be sufficient public sentiment aroused against their methods to frighten the local managers into an exhibition of decency and some regard for the people's will. One of the safety valves of our admirable

political system is that our politicians are very cowardly, and timidity to some extent takes the place of conscience with them."

His keen enjoyment in the humorous side of things was displayed in a third letter to Mrs. Wheeler, on June 7, 1920. In it he related "some rather curious stories" that had come to him direct from a member of the family of one of the official attendants at the Peace Conference in Paris:

"It seems that Mrs. X. could not get any hot water at the Hotel Crillon, and repeated remonstrances were met with profuse expressions of regret and promises of immediate attention, but no improvement in the situation; finally she made herself so disagreeable to the management, that they did send the plumber up, who told her that the real difficulty had been that 'Madame 'Ouse' had complained of the insufficiency of hot water, and had it cut off from all the rest of the hotel for her benefit. It seems also that on the return of this distinguished party from the Conference during which they were fellow passengers with His Majesty and the leading courtiers, the weather was very mild and pleasant, and some of the ladies wanted the Captain to stop the ship and allow them to take a salt water bath in the ocean. This the Captain did not see in the same light; and they

asked that other great man, Mr. Barney Baruch, to use his 'inflooence' to secure the privilege. Barney, however, hesitated, and was thereupon asked by one of them if he was afraid to bathe by reason of the sharks, and replied: 'Oh, no, he was not afraid of the sharks,— he was one himself.'

"I asked B. if she had any inside information as to the causes of 'such anger in celestial minds' as has caused the estrangement between His Majesty and Col. 'Ouse.' She said that her brother thought it was undoubtedly a disagreement between these great men on the subject of Fiume. I think that one of these days the history of this Dalmatian City during the last eighteen months or thereabouts will probably furnish the theme for an opera bouffe quite equal to those that were in vogue in Paris fifty years ago."

I am indebted to Walter H. Buck, Esq., of Baltimore for the following entertaining analysis of the mental and other peculiarities of the famous Adams family which Bonaparte made in a letter to him under date of September 26, 1919:

"I have not read the 'Education of Henry Adams,' although I have read a number of reviews of it and have seen a great many extracts. I was personally acquainted with him, and better acquainted with his brother, Charles Francis Adams, whose 'Autobiography' I have read.

The family had very marked peculiarities, and especially an abnormal disposition to deprecate everybody, including themselves, and to display themselves to the public in a less favorable light than would have been fair to them or in accordance with truth. In the case of Charles Francis Adams, this was notably shown by his observation that his class at Harvard was only remarkable for containing two persons who were sent to the Penitentiary. As a matter of fact, I heard from one of his classmates that he was very much interested in the class and quite generous in contributions for reunions and amusements intended to keep alive class-feeling. Henry Adams was an even more peculiar man than Charles Francis, and from what I know of the family, I would take everything he said subject to rather serious discount, especially when it related to himself, his relatives, or his intimate friends. The Adams attitude of mind toward the world seems to have been one of smothered indignation that they were not better appreciated by the public, leading them to 'run down' their own merits and those of everybody else with whom they were brought in contact. For all these reasons I have not felt any great desire to read the 'Education of Henry Adams.'"

CHAPTER XIX

MARRIAGE — CITY AND COUNTRY HOUSES

WHILE he was a student in Harvard in 1871 Bonaparte met Miss Ellen Channing Day, of Hartford, Conn., who was on a visit to friends in Cambridge. She was the daughter of Thomas Mills Day, a member of one of the most distinguished families of Connecticut. His father, Thomas Day, was a brother of Jeremiah Day, President of Yale University from 1817 to 1846. Thomas Day was an eminent jurist who for several years was associate judge of the County Court of Hartford and for six years its chief judge. He was the author of many law-books and the editor of forty volumes of English law works. He was also one of the founders of the Connecticut Historical Society and for many years its President. His son, Thomas Mills Day, the father of Mrs. Bonaparte, was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1837, and was for a time a practising lawyer. Later he purchased the Hartford *Courant* of which he was editor as

well as proprietor from 1855 to 1866, when he sold the newspaper and retired from active life.

Bonaparte made the acquaintance of Miss Day at the Saturday gatherings of a class of about twenty young people of both sexes in Cambridge which had been formed for purposes of amusement. Previous to these gatherings Bonaparte had paid little or no heed to young ladies and had shunned parties and balls as offering no attraction to him. It was noticed that the blond young lady from Hartford had from the first encounter caused him to "take notice." In the game of baseball, which was played with flat bats and a soft ball, Bonaparte, whose position was in the field, was accused of "fielding too near the third base" at which Miss Day was stationed, and of appointing himself her escort to and from the gymnasium. He was at that time a very serious young man with a heavy black beard and with the general appearance of a professor rather than of a student. When Miss Day told her mother that she had met at the gymnasium "a tall, broad-shouldered, slender young man named Bonaparte," Mrs. Day, who curiously enough as a young lady had been a visitor to West Point in 1852, when Charles J. Bonaparte, as described in a previous chapter, was present in

his nurse's arms to witness his brother Jerome's graduation, exclaimed: "Why, he must be the baby I saw at West Point. I had a room next to the Bonaparte family and I heard the mother say: 'Jerome, Charles Joseph is crying; can't you take him up?' "

Miss Day's first sight of her future husband really dated back to her eighth year, when she visited her mother's aunt, Mrs. John Paine, at her lovely home, "Sea Verge," on Bellevue Avenue, Newport, and was shown, among the distinguished persons on that famous avenue, a foreign-looking gentleman on horseback, with his small son beside him on a pony. This was Charles Joseph Bonaparte, with his father. Neither the boy nor the fair-haired little girl who was looking at him dreamed that on September 1, 1875, they would be married in that same house.

If fate was thus conspiring to bring the two together, at this early date, there was one other happening which might possibly be interpreted as revealing similar activity. In the winter following their first meeting, Mrs. Day planned to spend several months with her daughter in Chicago and they were actually in the city when the great fire of October, 1871, burned them out and compelled their return to the East. It was

a curious but not inexplicable coincidence that Bonaparte was on his way to Chicago in response to a sudden desire to see something of the West, when the fire compelled his return also. Mrs. Day and her daughter spent the winter in Boston and Bonaparte became a frequent visitor in their household. Yet while the mutual attraction of the two young persons was generally recognized, and Bonaparte's companions spoke of Miss Day as his "diurnal," there was no formal engagement between them when in 1872 Mrs. Day took her daughter to Europe for three years. Letters were quite frequently exchanged and on the return of mother and daughter in June, 1875, an engagement was announced and they were married on September 1 at "Sea Verge," the residence of the bride's aunt, in Newport, Rhode Island, by Bishop Hendricks, Catholic bishop of the State.

After a brief honeymoon trip which Bonaparte cut short in order to return to Baltimore and attend to a law case, the young couple went to live for a few weeks with his mother in the Bonaparte house in Baltimore which his father had built, while their country house, called "Chestnut Wood," was being made ready for them. This was situated about four miles

MRS. CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE

At the time her husband was Secretary of the Navy.

UNIV.
OF
MICH.

out of the city and was occupied by them for several years.

Madame Patterson-Bonaparte, who had resented bitterly the marriage of Charles's brother Jerome to an American, made no objection to the marriage of Charles and cordially welcomed his wife to the family circle, expressing a genuine liking for her at their first meeting. She had been so incensed with Jerome that she had told Charles that she intended to leave all her money to him, cutting Jerome completely out of her will. She abandoned this purpose when Charles told her that it would make no difference what she did, since he should divide equally with Jerome in any event. She accordingly divided her property equally between them.

The Bonaparte house to which Charles took his wife for temporary residence, and which is still standing at the corner of Park Avenue and Center Street, was in its day one of the finest in the city. It is a large five-story building, in the first or basement story of which Bonaparte fitted up later a law office. Its interior was admirably arranged for social purposes with an imposing entrance-hall and capacious and stately drawing and dining rooms. A room on the second floor was set apart for a large and valuable collection of Napoleonic relics

which had been assembled by Charles's father. This is now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society to which it was presented by Charles's widow. It comprises several hundred numbers, including many busts, portraits, miniatures, rare pieces of china, and some very handsome cabinets, wardrobes, and other rare articles of furniture. Charles added little to it, for he took slight interest in Napoleonana, and refused to purchase any samples of it.

The most notable article in the collection is the remarkably fine marble bust of Napoleon I as General, when he was twenty-seven years of age, a photograph of which is shown facing page 216. This was modelled originally in Egypt, in plaster, by Charles-Louis Corbet, and subsequently cut in marble by Henri-Frédéric Iselin, in Paris in 1859, on the order of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, father of Charles. A replica was made for Napoleon III, and is in the museum at Ajaccio.

Two other interesting busts are those of the father and mother of Napoleon I. That of the mother, Madame Mère, is by Canova, and is the head of a full-length statue of her by him; that of the father, Carlo Bonaparte, is supposed to have been made in Canova's studio. They were presented to Charles's mother, by Joseph

Bonaparte, Napoleon's eldest brother, and were taken from his famous Bordentown collection.

There are several portraits of Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte, including one in a white empire gown, when she was thirty-two, by Kinson, and another, which was her favorite, at the age of forty, painted in Geneva, by Massot, on the panel of an old stage-coach. There is also a daguerreotype copy of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of her, with three heads on one canvas, showing her face from three angles, his explanation being that as he was quite unable to say from which point of view she was most beautiful he gave them all.

For several years after his marriage Bonaparte continued to reside at Chestnut Wood, but when the city spread in that direction bringing trolley-cars and close neighbors, like Daniel Boone when neighbors crowded upon him, he "moved farther into the wilderness." He found a site for a new country retreat at a point fourteen miles from Baltimore, on the Harford Road. There was situated there an old house, known as the Gittings Homestead, which was over one hundred years old, and which in its time had been one of the notable structures in that part of the country. The hand carving on its woodwork was quite famous. It was situated

in a valley which made its name of "Bella Vista" something of a misnomer. Bonaparte chose for the site of his house a high hill, above the Gittings house, retaining the latter as the dwelling of the overseer of his estate. Upon this hill, overlooking the surrounding country for miles in all directions, he built, in the early nineties a mansion to which he gave, somewhat reluctantly, the old name of "Bella Vista," for while the location made the name appropriate he would have preferred one in the English language. This new home was literally the joy of his heart, and in it he spent many of the happiest hours of his life.

The building, which has two clearstories and a deep roof with dormer-windows, is in modernized Colonial style with a deep wide veranda running nearly all around it. Sitting on the veranda Bonaparte could see his entire estate of about three hundred acres spread out in the valley beneath. At the foot of the hill on one side, were his carriage and stable buildings, and, on another side, the Gittings house with its cluster of farm buildings. Stretching straightaway for several miles lies the road to Baltimore over which he drove to and fro each day. The house is a veritable landmark, being visible for many miles from all points in the

BUST OF NAPOLEON I, AS GENERAL, WHEN HE WAS 27 YEARS OF AGE

Modelled in plaster in Egypt by Charles-Louis Corbet; cut in marble in Paris, in 1859, by Henri-Frédéric Iselin, on the order of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte. The original was exhibited at the Salon, 1800. There is a plaster cast of it in the Musée at Versailles, a marble of it in the museum at Ajaccio, and a bronze-colored plaster cast in the National Art Gallery at Edinburgh.

UNIV. OF MICH.

surrounding country, which is interspersed with hills and is of great natural beauty.

The interior of the house is as attractive as the exterior. A wide hall, fifty-three feet in length, runs through it from north to south. On one side is a dining-room and on the other a library, and adjoining is the private office in which Bonaparte worked both while he was a practising lawyer and while he was a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet, for his week-ends and his holidays were always spent here. In fact, his daily rides to Baltimore should also be included in his working hours, for during these his always active mind was so intensely at work that he scarcely recognized persons who passed him on the road. Yet preoccupied as he was he never failed to lift his hat, with his unfailing courtesy, to every person whom he met.

In the stables were always twelve driving horses and many carriages of different forms. Every day, through fair or foul weather, it was Bonaparte's custom to be driven to the city behind a steady-trotting pair of horses, capable of making a speed up-hill or down of five miles an hour, covering the distance either way in about an hour and a half. Only till his health failed shortly before he died would he consent to use an automobile. He loved horses and

enjoyed their companionship. "You can't get any pleasure in looking at an automobile," he said when automobiles came into general use, "but I can sit and look at a horse for hours with pleasure."

His love for horses dated from his earliest years. His letters to his father in his childhood school days were full of references to them, and in one which he wrote to his mother while a student at Harvard, in describing an epidemic among horses in Boston, he said:

"Perhaps, after all, good will be blown to the community generally by this very ill wind, as it may induce people to treat horses in future with a little more humanity, and even to pay some small attention to the rules of health and common sense in conducting their stables. We ought, also, to have some REAL veterinary surgeons, and I do not see why men of education and capacity should not find in that branch of medicine, both a lucrative and an interesting profession. If I were a physician, I should certainly prefer alleviating the sufferings of an animal whose diseases are in nine cases out of ten the results of human brutality, than of a man whose maladies are produced almost invariably by his own vice or folly."

The stables at Bella Vista were designed by Bonaparte and were models of their kind, with all the latest developments in that variety of construction. He was greatly attached to his horses, was always unwilling to sell one, and always kept them, long after their usefulness had ended, insisting that they be well cared for in old age. When they became so helpless that they could barely move about, he would only consent to their being shot when he was assured that they no longer "enjoyed life."

Regularly each year, on May 1, he went to Bella Vista, remaining there till the middle of July, when, on account of the severe strain that the heat of midsummer was upon his wife's health, he went with her to St. Andrews, New Brunswick, on Passamaquoddy Bay, for two months. Returning to Bella Vista he remained there till December 1. He greatly enjoyed these annual vists to Canada, and found them beneficial to his health which on account of a chronic weakness of heart was not robust. Indeed, in 1888 he was threatened with a nervous breakdown from overwork and was ordered by his physicians to take a sea-voyage. Instead of going to Europe as they advised, he went to Alaska, saying he preferred seeing his own coun-

try rather than a foreign one. He was accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law and a niece of the latter, Miss Mabel Whitney. The three weeks' voyage by steamer from Tacoma to Sitka and return greatly benefited him, as did the cold bracing air of the country, which was a genuine tonic for all members of the party.

In 1918 he began to show signs of failing health and from that time he sank gradually to his death. He made his last visit to Canada in 1920 and returned seemingly benefited by it, but his first attempt to resume work by going to the court-house showed that the improvement was only temporary. In the spring of 1921 he went to Bella Vista in April, confident that in that loved retreat he would find renewed health and strength, and he was greatly disappointed when he failed to improve. His condition became so serious that his physicians abandoned all hope of his recovery. His only pleasure was in driving, and this he continued daily till within four days of his death. During his last days he sat in a reclining chair, his attitude and features bearing a striking resemblance to the famous statue of Napoleon's last days at St. Helena, the original of which is at Versailles and a replica of which is in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington. A small plaster replica is

VIEW OF BONAPARTE ROOM IN THE BALTIMORE HOME

The Corbet bust of Napoleon is at the extreme left. On the easel nearby is the Massot portrait of Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte; hanging above it slightly to the right is the Kenson portrait of her. The portrait of Charles J. Bonaparte in the background is by Cécile Marquesa de Wentworth, painted when he was Attorney General.

UNIV. OF T.

in the Bonaparte collection in the Maryland Historical Society. He died peacefully and unconscious at four o'clock on the morning of June 28, 1921.

CHAPTER XX

PERSONALITY

JOHN HAY, who in addition to being a scholar, a poet, and a statesman was also a philosopher, wrote this couplet:

"Be not anxious to gain your next-door neighbor's approval:
Live your own life, and let him strive your approval to gain."

No man ever lived his own life more thoroughly than did Charles J. Bonaparte. In a literal sense in his case the child was father of the man. As a solitary child he had never been lonely, but had found within himself inexhaustible resources of occupation and amusement. He grew to manhood trained to this self-reliance and accustomed to finding in it his greatest happiness. He also found in it his sole guide to conduct. Neither the approval nor the opinions of his neighbors gave him concern. What his mind and conscience told him he should do, that he did, and to the consequences of his words or acts he gave no thought at all.

"To thine own self be true;
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

No impartial reader of the preceding pages, and no one who is familiar with Bonaparte's career can doubt for a moment that this was the guide which he followed inflexibly throughout his career. His contemporaries in Baltimore unite in saying that his devotion to what he believed to be right was so absolute that he would have gone to the stake cheerfully in defense of his principles. Defeat never discouraged him, ridicule and abuse only amused him, and knowledge of his own unpopularity caused him not a moment's uneasiness. He was absolutely fearless and absolutely beyond the reach of personal gain or emolument of any kind.

In an address which he delivered on June 19, 1902, at the unveiling of a monument to Severn Teackle Wallis, who had been his zealous and powerful associate in his long battle for honest methods in Maryland politics, Bonaparte attributed to Mr. Wallis qualities which might with equal truth be ascribed to himself. Speaking of the high place that Mr. Wallis held in the estimation of the people, he said:

"This unsought homage to his rectitude and strength was as far apart as are the two poles from that popularity of a day for which public men in our time and country too often barter their self-respect, drug their consciences, hide,

stifle or distort their beliefs and their sentiments. It may be doubted whether, in this ignoble sense of the word, in its sordid meaning to the demagogue or the time-server, Mr. Wallis, during all the many years of his honored life, could be fairly called a 'popular' man; certainly he never sought to be such. A man of strong convictions, always earnest and outspoken as to his opinions, a disputant 'who shunned no question and who wore no mask,' endowed, moreover, by nature with a dangerous gift of invective and sarcasm which made him remembered when stupidly harmless adversaries were pardoned in forgetfulness, he was called to take part, and a part of great moment, in public controversies of far-reaching consequence to our City and State and Nation, controversies which deeply affected individual interests, awakened angry passions, and bore fruit in bitter and lasting enmities."

Yet while Bonaparte had not won the title of "popular man," his long and valiant fight for honesty and plain morality in public life and conduct had won for him in the closing years of his life the position of recognized leader of the intelligent and respectable sentiment of the State. He had the popular confidence, for the people had faith in his sincerity and high principle. They knew he was honest and fear-

less and there was no other public speaker to whom they flocked more eagerly to hear or to be guided by.

His personal idiosyncrasies were very marked. He walked with a long swinging stride, swerving from one part of the sidewalk to the other, tapping with his cane every post or door-step that he passed, and moving his head from side to side in time with his steps. So occupied was he with his own thoughts that he would look intimate friends in the face without a sign of recognition. He was, in fact, as alone in the world as if he had been in a wilderness, alone with his own mind, watching the play of it with an intentness that was all-absorbing. This was a part of the isolation of his life. He was alone in his own company as completely as if he were still the child in the nursery. His enjoyment of his own thought and of his own humor was the direct outcome of his isolation. His whimsical smile was the outward and visible sign of inward joy. Walking or riding, his alert and well-stored mind was always working and always commanding his entire attention. It was at once his chief occupation and chief enjoyment. It was said of him that he had friends but no intimates. His one intimate friend was Samuel Brearley, a founder of the Brearley School in

New York, whose death in 1886 was a great grief to him. After Brearley's death he was himself his only intimate, with the exception of his wife. She, like him, cared little for social life, though he keenly enjoyed giving dinner parties in his own house, saying he would like to give one a week. He was a delightful host and most interesting talker at these gatherings. He loved his home, his devotion to his wife was said by those who knew him best to amount to adoration, and his favorite evening occupation was sitting with her and reading aloud.

On the streets of Baltimore in his time there were two familiar figures that were universally recognized — those of Cardinal Gibbons and Bonaparte, whose peculiar walk distinguished him. The carriage in which he and Mrs. Bonaparte rode about the city was also an object of curiosity and attraction. It was a handsome old victoria drawn by two fine chestnut horses, with two colored men on the box, a coachman and a footman, in a modest livery, much modified from the Bonapartist one that his father had used. It was black, with the edges of the coats piped in red, and high silk hats with simple gold bands. On one occasion when Bonaparte, wearing a cape, was passing from his house to the carriage, a street urchin said to his com-

panion: "There goes Mr. Napoleon Bonaparte."

He never visited France or Europe. When he was asked while he was in Roosevelt's Cabinet why he had never gone abroad he replied: "It is true that I have never visited Europe. I expected to do so immediately after leaving college, but circumstances prevented my going at that time, and I have never found any leisure since." It was said that one reason why he did not wish to go was his dislike of fuss of any kind, and that he shrank from the notoriety which his name and position in America might bring to him. During the World War he was greatly amused by a statement in a newspaper that he "must be a pro-German because his grandfather was King of Westphalia."

No man was ever more respected and beloved by the members of his official and domestic households than was Bonaparte. They grew old in his service, for he rarely changed them when they had once been retained. His secretary, Mr. Cleveland P. Manning, served him in that capacity for forty-two years, the entire period of his active life, from the time he began the practice of the law till his death. Miss Harriet Gries was his stenographer for nearly thirty years. Mr. Manning, whose devotion to

his interests was equalled only by his affection for him, said of him to me: "I never had a cross word or a misunderstanding with him."

Miss Gries's testimony is more full and gives us a charming picture of the gentle, lovable personality of the man as he revealed himself in the frank intimacy of home life. It is in the form of a letter that she wrote a few days after Bonaparte's death to Camillus G. Kidder, of New York, who had been a valued and trusted friend of Bonaparte since the two men had been college mates at Harvard:

"Four years ago we moved the office up here, using a part of the residence. Mr. Bonaparte had received a good offer for the office building on St. Paul Street, and, of course, sold it. The house here lent itself very well to the change. On the ground floor is a suite of rooms facing on Center Street (the front of the house is on Park Avenue), and these rooms Mr. Bonaparte remodelled and fitted up for our use. We came up four years ago on July 1st. The corner room was formerly the library of the house, and was used as Mr. Bonaparte's private office; then there is a little triangular vestibule; the next room, formerly the housekeeper's sitting room, is the general office; the next, formerly her bedroom is now my office; the door now used,

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE BONAPARTE ROOM

Bust on the extreme right is of Charles Bonaparte, father of Napoleon, supposed to have been made in Canova's studio. The bust in the centre is of Napoleon's mother, Madame Mère, and is the head of a full-length statue of her by Canova.

UNIV. OF MICH.

which opens on Center Street, had been closed for years. All of the windows have iron bars; there is plenty of light and sunshine, a bit of green out of the back window, and trees and a garden wall with green things tumbling over it opposite,— so they are very attractive offices, quaintly charming. I wish you could have seen them in his day, for he was the gem in the setting; always immaculately groomed, with his gracious dignity, beautiful courtesy, his kindly smile, and the re-assuring calm of his bright quiet eyes,— a precious old man, at seventy looking about fifty.

"I do not recall just when his first attack came, but I do remember that he was unable to go to Mr. Roosevelt's funeral, whose death grieved him very much. Soon after this Mr. Bonaparte began to fail. He had mild heart attacks, which, however, weakened him; they came with irregular frequency. It was hoped when he got to Bella Vista, his country place, he would get better, but in July of last year he had a very serious attack and came near slipping away then. The Doctor had to be called in the night from town. It so happened that they got hold of the right chauffeur with his taxi who knew the way out, and the fifteen miles were made in record time. But, when the Doctor ar-

rived, complications, of which he knew nothing, had set in, and he did not have the right medicine. The Doctor in the neighborhood, who had also been called, happened to have some of the right medicine, and after two more journeys of about two miles and a search in various places, the right medicine was found, left over, accidentally, from the Flu Epidemic time. All this time Mr. Bonaparte was gasping for breath, and almost gasped his last. Three drops of the medicine caused functioning, which enabled him to hold on for nearly a year longer. He went to Canada, as usual, being taken to the train in an invalid chair (to avoid steps more than anything else), and was well taken care of by all those around him. He returned hopefully and seemingly better, and all of last Fall spent most of his time at Bella Vista.

"After coming to the City for the Winter, he began to pick up the work which had accumulated awaiting his return to a normal work day, but his first trip to the Court House brought him down again, and, after that, he was not allowed to walk, and his office hours were shortened to half a day and all other work given up entirely. He drove twice a day for fresh air and exercise, and looked forward to going to Bella Vista this Spring with some hope

of entire recovery. But, alas! he did not gain any, and when he began to get impatient and restless over his deferred recovery, he had to be told of his serious condition. Dear Mrs. Bonaparte was told some time in the Winter that he could not recover. But, in spite of this, we all hoped he had at least a few more years before him. He had lived such a careful life and was so well taken care of during all this time, having everything that affection, skill and science could supply.

"The last weeks of his life he became even more dependent on Mrs. Bonaparte, and she gave herself to his needs and care. I love to tell of the beautiful life of these two,— how they always sat holding hands, after forty-five years of companionship! how he bade her good night, putting his arms around her, kissing her, and saying: 'Good night, my dear Cosset, be a good little Cosset.' Think of the loyalty of these two hearts in these days of variable constancy!

"The funeral was unique and picturesque: the High Mass dignified, beautiful, solemn, was hard on those of us whose heart strings were played on by strong emotions. The pathetic little figure of the woman whose man had been taken seemed to have shrivelled and bent under

the woe of it. Mr. Jerome Bonaparte, the nephew, was with her, and the three nurses who had been of the household during his illness; and *then*, the servants,— several pews full of colored servants. He was buried from the Cathedral. The Navy was represented, flags were at half mast on U. S. Government ships all over the world and the City Hall here; the local Courts and societies were represented, of course, and when the body was taken out the bells of the Cathedral were tolled as they only are at the funeral of a trustee of the Cathedral — and then we put him in his final resting place, and the little lady went home! How I have loved her during these days of her sorrow!

"In his address the Priest said Mr. Bonaparte had three characteristics which stood out strongly: he was an educated gentleman; he was a patriot, and he was a child of the ancient church. Of the three great men who had passed out of our midst in the last three months, he could say of Mr. Bonaparte what he could not say of the others; the Cardinal, was eminent for his clerical virtues; Chief Justice White, eminent for his judicial virtues, but Mr. Bonaparte was pre-eminent as the man of the fireside and the ideal home life.

"Our office family consisted of Mr. Manning,

Mr. B's secretary, who has been with him for 42 years, his (Mr. Manning's) secretary, Mr. Bonaparte and myself, who have been his stenographer for nearly thirty years. My starting equipment was very meager, so my lines have fallen in pleasant places, for it has been an education as well as a rare privilege to have served him all these years, and I would wish for nothing better in the next world than to serve him again."

The servants in Mr. Bonaparte's household were no less devotedly attached to him than were the members of his office staff. Most of them were continually in his service for many years, and all spoke of him habitually with affection and reverence. It was said by Doctor Johnson, in speaking of the merits and defects of biographers:

"Biographers so little regard the manners or behaviour of their heroes, that more knowledge may be gained of a man's real character by a short conversation with one of his servants than from a formal and studied narrative, begun with his pedigree, and ended with his funeral."

Mindful of this dictum I paid a visit in Baltimore, during the preparation of this work, to the ex-slave, Nathan Briscoe, then eighty-three years of age, who, after obtaining freedom,

served Mr. Bonaparte for twenty years as head butler. The old man, who was quite feeble, greeted me with joy when I told him of my errand, and exclaimed (I shall not attempt to reproduce the dialect):

"Yes, sir: I sure will be glad to talk of Mr. Bonaparte. There was no other man in the United States like him! He was the best man in the whole world! When I went with him as head butler I was told he was very particular about his breakfast — wanted it just so. I had one of the servants tell me how he wanted it, and first time I served it to him I was terribly afraid I would not suit him. He said nothing and I was afraid I had not done right. I heard him laughing to himself, chuckling as he went away, and I didn't know what that meant. When I told the other servant that he went away laughing, he said: 'Did he laugh? Then you are all right — he was suited, for he always laughs when he is suited.'

"I never saw him angry but once. He wanted to take a train to town one morning. He was then at Bella Vista, and the carriage didn't come in time because some of the harness for the horses had been put on another pair that had gone away and had not got back. He missed his train and went upstairs very angry.

THE COUNTRY HOUSE, "BELLA VISTA."

UNIV. OF MICH.

Pretty soon he came down again and said to the coachman: 'Alex, I was quite angry, but you were right and I was wrong.' He always carried his lunch to town in a silver box — two sandwiches. I always put it up.

"He was always good to the servants. Once he gave them a great party on Alex's birthday. The servants had been to parties given by the servants of other families. Alex wanted to give one big party to all of them and pay the expense. Mr. Bonaparte he said no, he would pay all the expense. He had all the carriages taken out the carriage house, had the room decorated, and invited all the servants from other places. There were many carriage loads of them, all colored people. Mr. Bonaparte held a reception down in the stable, and there was a band of music and supper, and everybody had a grand time. Madame Bonaparte said she would like to see a cake walk, and we fixed up one. She and her guests came down to the stable to see it and were just tickled to death.

"Always on Fourth of July and Thanksgiving I had to go to town from Bella Vista to carve the roast pig. Nobody else allowed to do that. The last time I went Mr. Bonaparte said: 'Nathan, we're getting old. Nobody cares for us.' Madame Bonaparte, she say: 'Yes, some-

body does. Nathan does and you care for him.'

"I couldn't help shedding tears when he died. There was no such man in the world. I miss him today, and maybe he miss me too!"

CHAPTER XXI

RELIGION

IN religion Bonaparte was a devout and liberal Catholic. From his childhood he was associated with that faith, for he was instructed by Catholics, both as teachers and tutors, though his mother was a Protestant, a member of the Presbyterian Church. She never interfered with his religious instruction, leaving that entirely to his father. His loyalty to his Church never faltered. He was loyal to his Church, as he was to all his ideals, because loyalty was a supreme quality in his nature, and he insisted upon loyalty on the part of all of its members. A good Catholic cannot be a bad citizen — this was the basis of all his addresses to Catholic societies and members. He made many of these, which were carefully prepared and have been preserved. Brief extracts from some of them will serve to show how thoroughly he carried his religious convictions into his daily life.

In an address of welcome which he made to the prelates of the Third Plenary Council which met in Baltimore in 1884, he said:

"The creed of the Catholic Church is founded on no theory in physics or psychology, and she makes no treaty with such theories; she teaches not what she *thinks* from reasoning, but what she *knows* from an ever-present, unceasing revelation. With her *facts*, hypotheses, however plausible or ingenious, must square themselves as best they may; it is not her business to point out their inconsistencies or to correct their errors. She does not so much condemn them as disregard them: she believes, not indeed *because*, but *although* what she believes may be, humanly speaking, impossible. And she has no fear of the future; as all the speculations of idealist metaphysicians have never made one man doubt for one moment the reality of his own existence or that of the visible universe, so no proof, however conclusive in seeming, that our spiritual life is a dream, eternity a blank, the gospel a myth or a forgery, can touch her, who lives and breathes and has her being in the reality and truth of all these things. Sure of her mission, she shrinks from none of its responsibilities. Her religion is no abstraction; it is a practical rule of life. She is not content with a passive assent to her claims; her children must heed her voice and do her work at all times and in all places; on the days of labor as on the

day of rest, by the family hearth, in the forum, in the mart no less than within the temple and before the altar. Every act or thought, however mute or private, is subjected to her scrutiny and may merit her rebuke. She would not merely invite, but compel, men to do right; and what is right she always knows and is always ready to say."

In an address before the Young Men's Catholic Association of Boston College in 1891, on the subject of "The Catholic Church and Its Relations to American Institutions," he said:

"It is an idea essentially pagan that in any sphere of thought or action a man can escape from his conscience; that for any purpose or under any circumstances he can cease to know right from wrong and to be bound by his knowledge. But I know of no moral teacher, heathen or Christian, of any age or school who questions that the happiness of a republic depends on the virtue of its citizens; that the suffrage is not a privilege to be abdicated or bartered away, but a trust to be sacredly fulfilled, that no man has a right to give his conscience into the keeping of any party or faction or to surrender himself for a season to the promptings of blind prejudice or selfish greed, or that hypocrisy and calumny and falsehood in every shape are

no less mean and hateful during a political campaign than before or after it. Macaulay claimed that to say of Charles I, 'he was a good man but a bad king,' involved a contradiction in terms; no one could be the second while he remained the first. Macaulay was not a Catholic, yet his view has been in all ages that of the Church. She does not meddle with the things of Cæsar; but honor and truth, good faith and public spirit, loyalty to our rulers, candor and charity to our fellow men—these things are not the things of Cæsar, they are hers, and she will have them of all that own her name; no American can be at once a good Catholic and a bad citizen."

Speaking before the Young Catholic's Friend Society of Baltimore in 1892 on "The Province of Laymen in the Catholic Church," he said:

"For the Church every baptized man is a Catholic; no doubt he may be a bad as well as a good Catholic, a rebellious no less than a loyal son of the Church, a useless and harmful just as he may be a useful member of the Christian body; but whether he wishes it or not, whether he deserves it or not, he belongs to the Church. And he belongs to her body and soul; he cannot justly refuse her anything which he has; his time, his skill, his labor, his strength

of arm or brain are hers no less than his means. He cannot compound for any ransom, no matter how costly, his obligation or personal service in her army."

Bonaparte's close friend for many years was Cardinal Gibbons. An address of welcome which Bonaparte made to the Cardinal on his return from abroad in 1900 is cited by Bonaparte's friends and admirers as one of the finest specimens of his oratorical talents. It is to be regretted that it cannot be reproduced in full in these pages, for it well deserves such permanent preservation, but its length forbids. An extract must suffice. After speaking of the changes which had taken place in the country during the fourteen years since the prelate had been made a Cardinal, he said:

"But, amid these shiftings of shadows and breakings of bubbles, amid the death of the perishable and the birth of what is born to die, that which lives truly and forever is now as it has been for fourteen years and for fourteen centuries: the truths God would have men know, the Church He has commissioned to teach them His truths, change not with the generations of man. Again greeting you in the name of those committed to your care, my first duty is to profess anew our unswerving

loyalty to the Church, to declare once more our unfaltering faith in her mission and authority and to claim for each one of us, in all paths of public or private duty, her hand and her voice as unerring guides to righteousness."

In 1903 the University of Notre Dame, at Notre Dame, Indiana, conferred upon Bonaparte the Lætare Medal. In his speech of acceptance he dwelt, as was his almost invariable custom in addressing Catholics, on the necessity of members of the Church showing themselves good and loyal and useful citizens:

"I think there are two important truths whereof American Catholics should be ever specially mindful, because, to a casual eye, they seem to be sometimes forgotten by some American Catholics. We should always remember that a man can have but one country, if he has, in very truth, a country at all. America is the home of exiles of many races, climes, tongues, and creeds; all kinds and conditions of men are welcome here, and out of all have been made, are daily made, good Americans. But to become Americans, in the sense which makes them verily and indeed our brethren, they must cease to be something else; they must have left their old homes for ever, and in these all prejudices or passions, all enmities and quarrels which might make

them forget, even for a moment, that they are Americans and Americans only.

"And it is of yet greater moment to the Church to have her children truly believe, and show forth by their lives how truly they do believe, that no man can be a good Catholic who is not also a good citizen: that the obligations of loyal obedience to constituted civil authority, of faithful and zealous fulfilment of the several duties imposed on each member of society by the law of the land, obligations which have been ever and everywhere unequivocally recognized and emphatically proclaimed by the Church, rest sacredly upon every freeman in a self-governing republic and forbid any surrender to selfishness or cowardice or sloth, any compromise with iniquity or dishonor, in the work which his country demands of him. It is not enough that this doctrine be affirmed in our catechisms or declared by our preachers: it must be recognized in our lives; when there shall be no unworthy citizen who is also in name a Catholic, the Catholic Church in America will have no enemy whom any good man would wish to be her friend."

In similar vein he spoke in an address at the Commencement of the Roman Catholic High School in Philadelphia on June 12, 1903:

"Organized fraud, open or secret bribery,

official perjury, and breach of public trust, these things can never be trifling or indifferent to any agency that makes for righteousness. And if the Church of Christ exists among us, she exists as such an agency. The votary of Baal or Zeus or Wodin might consistently enough share with his deity the fruits of slaughter and pillage; there was in this, perhaps, less of gratitude for past favors than a lively sense of favors to come; for, if he failed to divide equitably, the god might serve him some shabby trick when next he tackled his enemy. This view of the matter has outlived both the establishment of Christianity and the advent of modern civilization; when mediæval cattle-lifters sent tithes of their spoil to the nearest cathedral or abbey; when today Dives makes his millions by fraud and chicanery and, out of them, gives his thousands to home charities or foreign missions, we saw and see the same human nature, threatened by the same dangers, using the same shifts. But they are no longer used consistently; a Christian has been told plainly, a Catholic Christian has been told more plainly still, that they are foolish and unavailing — nay, that they aggravate his guilt, that they heighten his peril. And for American Catholics, for the laity no less than for the clergy, it

is an imperative, a sacred duty to show, and show so plainly that no man, in or out of the Church, can misread the showing, that as truly as she lives to point the way to Heaven, so truly she lives likewise that truth and justice, honor and patriotism, good faith and fair dealing may also live among men."

The liberality of his religious faith was disclosed in an address which he delivered on "The Indian Problem" in Brooklyn on March 19, 1905:

"I have said that to civilize the Indian, we must first make him a Christian. What kind of a Christian shall we try to make him? This is a grave and delicate question, but we must answer it, and answer it sensibly and candidly, with a full recognition of vital conditions in our national life and in entire loyalty to our country's institutions. I saw some time since in one of the papers of this city a statement to the effect, in substance, that I would deal this evening with the Indian Problem 'from a Catholic standpoint.' I am a Catholic and I suppose my hearers, at least in great majority, are Catholics likewise; in that sense the statement is true; but if any one believes that my words this evening are inspired by jealousy or hostility towards any other form of Chris-

tianity, by the wish to impede or belittle what sincere Christians of other denominations are doing for the Indian's betterment or by the purpose to claim or secure for Catholic agencies privileges or advantages of any kind which I and, so far as I know, all Catholics connected with the work among and for the Indians would not gladly see enjoyed by Protestant agencies of like merit and working to the like ends, then the person so believing is unjust to me and is guilty of far more flagrant injustice to the Catholic Church in America.

"There was once a prominent Englishman, notorious alike for his profligate life and for his violent hatred towards the Catholic religion, who described himself as 'a good Protestant though a bad Christian'; how far the first part of this description may have been appropriate, I leave Protestants to say, but I assert, without any fear of contradiction, that no one can be a good Catholic who is a bad Christian, and that no one can be either a good Catholic or a good Christian who sees with an evil eye good work done by good men because these men are not of his faith."

In a sketch of Cardinal Gibbons which Bonaparte published in 1911, soon after the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Cardi-

nal's elevation to the priesthood and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment as Cardinal, he said of that universally honored and beloved churchman:

"Honor and truth, good faith and patriotism, loyalty to our rulers, candor and charity towards our fellow men, these are not mere things of Cæsar; he who turns his back on them denies the religion of Christ, forsakes the morality of the Gospel; and our fellow countrymen not of our faith become willing to believe that Catholics can be men of patriotism and honor when and because they see before them, as they see in him, a Catholic whom they know to be such a man. A son of the Church so justly honored, one who commands the esteem and affection of all his fellow citizens of whatever faith, lives a sermon which stills suspicion and silences slander against his Church as can no effort of eloquence or learning in her defense; his life teaches that no man can be truly a good Catholic who is not also truly a good citizen. And it teaches also that as in America the bitterness of religious prejudice has well-nigh died out under the softening influence of perfect freedom of conscience, so the Catholic Church is a true friend to our American Republic; that she is here to stay and to live, to live with a buoyant

and healthy life; that she is here, not to undermine or pervert, but to strengthen and purify our popular government."

He spoke with pride of the large proportion of Catholics who took part in the World War, saying in an address on "Why Catholics are Loyal," before the Holy Name Society in Baltimore, on April 28, 1918:

"Were this little address a sermon I should take for my text those words of St. Peter wherein he urges his brethren to live as freemen, not using their liberty to cloak the indulgence of sinful passions, but as faithful servants of God and, for that reason, loyally obedient to whatever form of government God's providence has placed over them. If such is the natural, normal, and appropriate attitude of a Catholic citizen towards his country (and surely no Catholic will deny that it is), it must follow that the ideal country for a Catholic is one whose form of government, whose laws, whose customs, whose standards of thought and life are such as to render this attitude on his part easy and congenial, to awaken his gratitude, to arouse his admiration, to engage his affections, and to make the full and cheerful discharge of his duties as a citizen, and, if need be, as a soldier, for him a labor of love; and I ask with

confidence: Where in the whole world of to-day will you find a country and political institutions so nearly in accord with this model as are our country and American liberty?

"Is American liberty friendly to Catholic truth? This question is an open one only for the blind; to answer it, those who can see need only open their eyes. When we became a nation Catholics were barely one per centum of our people; now they are probably about 17 per centum; in that time Americans have increased in number some 33 fold, American Catholics have increased some 560 fold; surely a plant which has grown so sturdily and so rapidly has found a thoroughly congenial soil."

From the time that he took up his residence in the city till the end of his life he was active in the charitable work both of his Church and of the chief non-sectarian organizations. He was one of the founders of the Charity Organization Society in 1881, and for many years the chairman of the Board of Managers. In this work, as in all others that he entered upon, he was zealous and constant. He never failed to attend the meetings of the Board, gave freely of his means, and was the eager and encouraging leader in every measure for carrying forward the society's labors. The same characteristics

distinguished his co-operation in the charitable activities of the Catholic Church.

An address of welcome which he made to the delegates of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which met at Baltimore in May, 1890, and which greatly delighted his audience, showed that he carried into his charitable work the same saving sense of humor and the same sound common sense which invariably accompanied him in every field of action. "Mankind's progress," he said, "is in large measure the work of cranks. Men of one idea, for whom some particular topic on which their thoughts have long run has an importance to normal minds preposterous and grotesque, who have become so one-sided as to seem intellectually distorted and unsightly, are after all those who cry out so long and loudly, and make themselves generally such bores, that at last they awake the world to its iniquities and its follies. Now, the State hardly knows how to make use of cranks. Either it ties them down to an enforced idleness, in which a well-known character has no end of mischief ready for their hands, or it gives them a free rein, and with a fair opportunity to ride promptly to the same notorious personage. Not a few who here relieve their minds by attending conferences and

reading papers might, in another country, be loading dynamite bombs or trudging toward Siberia; while, on the other hand, if the wild schemes of social regeneration to which we now listen with composure, very much as we might look calmly at a lion out of a third story window, could ever get at all near to realization, the results would be startling enough.

"'Think of two thousand gentlemen at least;
And each one mounted on his capering beast.'

"Yes, rather think of an indefinite number of philanthropists, and each one mounted on his curvetting hobby, and with power to punish with fine and imprisonment, if not with the guillotine, anybody who did not ride with them! If the State prevents enthusiasts from trying to make the world better, it becomes in their eyes the one hindrance to ushering in the golden age, and they become the most dangerous of conspirators. If it lends them its authority to convert their whimsies into facts of life, it creates an anarchical tyranny.

"In the United States it does neither; it lets the would-be saviors of their kind try their hands at saving *ad libitum*, but at their cost and with no more potent sanction for the unbelieving than their arguments and eloquence.

Like the Pickwick Club, it 'cordially recognizes the principle of every member of . . . society defraying his own . . . expenses, and . . . sees no objection whatever to the members . . . pursuing their inquiries for any length of time they please upon the same terms.' "

CHAPTER XXII

NOTABLE APPRECIATIONS

THE many persons of prominence in this country who came in personal contact with Bonaparte in his various fields of public and private service formed, one and all, the same high estimate of his character, usefulness, and ability. Such of these as were invited to place in form for publication in this record of his career their impressions of him responded that it would give them pleasure to do so. Their contributions are appended with the sincere thanks of the author and the assurance of his high sense of their supreme value to the narrative:

By Charles W. Eliot, LL.D.

PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Charles Joseph Bonaparte entered Harvard College as a member of the Junior Class in 1869. His father had graduated at Harvard in the year 1826, and had maintained throughout his life friendly relations with several classmates who became distinguished in professional or public service. Because of his strong mental

powers, his keenness of thought, and his quickness of wit, the admixture of Corsican, Scotch-Irish, New England, and Southern strains in his blood, and certain eccentricities of manner and speech which characterized him in youth and, indeed, throughout life, Charles became immediately an object of great interest to his classmates and his teachers. The sources of the interest he then inspired were the same which later made him interesting to his associates at the Bar, to his fellow citizens in Baltimore, and to his fellow members in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt (1905–1909), and in the various reform and public welfare commissions and societies which he diligently served all his life. All his natural gifts and acquired powers were used from youth to age for the promotion of the highest standards in private and public life without fear or favor, and against selfishness, corruption, and extravagance in politics, no matter who the sinners were. In youth and age alike his wit and his reasoning were uncompromising. He taught diligently that every man who took the benefit of fraudulent or vile conduct in others was himself guilty of fraud or vice — a very distasteful doctrine to many Americans called successful in Bonaparte's time. It was a hard road which he began to travel

when a student at Harvard; but he followed it courageously and persistently. On this road he often said severe and cutting things, in spite of the amiability of his disposition and manners.

He resented and attacked hotly what he regarded as wrong-doing without considering at all his own interests or security, or the sensibilities of the wrong-doers; but generally in such action he believed himself to be defending some oppressed or wronged person, class, or race; and that purpose to defend right against wrong and weakness against power determined his political and social conduct from his graduation at the Harvard Law School to his death.

The two years he passed in Harvard College were the years in which the organization of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences was begun in a significant though feeble way. Young Bonaparte was one of the first Harvard Bachelors of Art to give a year to work in that embryo school. Then he entered the Law School just as the Langdell Case System of teaching law was getting strongly under way. He welcomed that method of instruction, and distinguished himself among the small group of students who early demonstrated the efficacy of the method.

From the time he entered on the practice of law in Baltimore, his native city, his main

purposes were to contribute to the well-being of the negro race lately emancipated but still oppressed, to redeem American politics from prevalent corruption and party selfishness, and to promote freedom and justice among all sorts and conditions of men. If he had any desire for political office, he sacrificed it. If he thought that the history of his family and his inherited wealth should give him influence or power in the state and the city, he soon learned that the line of conduct which he had marked out for himself would not lead in those directions. He early became an active member of the National Civil Service Reform League, and took a vigorous part not only in support of the merit system in all public services but in exposing the customs of conspicuous spoilsmen. He was one of the original members of the National Municipal League, a body which attacked strongly intrenched abuses. He gladly served on the Board of Indian Commissioners, because he saw there means of befriending abused and robbed Indian tribes. When President Roosevelt invited him to become a member of his Cabinet, first as Secretary of the Navy and then as Attorney-General, he regarded the summons as a chance to effect much needed reforms, particularly in the Department of Justice. He

became a member of the Progressive party because of his confidence in Theodore Roosevelt and his belief that that party was more likely to effect improvements in democratic government than either the Republican or the Democratic party. One of his most characteristic habits was to give his professional services in negro cases before the United States Courts, cases in which he believed he could resist the injustices some of the Southern whites for many years after the Civil War tried to perpetrate upon them. This professional service he rendered to that race not only without compensation of any sort, but in face of certain loss of professional and social standing in his own community. Thereby he won the confidence and gratitude of the colored people not only of Maryland but of the country.

Bonaparte was always an affectionate son of Harvard. He served twelve years as a member of the Board of Overseers, being twice elected to that Board by the votes of the Alumni. His service there was all the more valuable and interesting because of his family and personal connection with the Catholic Church. Until years comparatively recent few members of that Church were to be found among the governors, teachers, or students of Harvard Uni-

versity. In this, as in many other respects, he was a pioneer.

Finally, Bonaparte was kindly, genial, and dutiful in all the relations of family, professional, and social life.

By Richard Henry Dana

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE

Charles J. Bonaparte's most lasting public service was in the cause of Civil Service Reform; that reform of reforms; that foundation of all sure progress towards good government. His work was that of a warrior, and a bold and courageous one too. He met his enemies face to face at a time when it took something of courage, physical as well as moral, to do the work that he did.

The political machine he attacked worked for the most part under Senator Gorman of Maryland. It had among its members thugs, ex-convicts, and persons indicted for murder. Political assassinations had actually taken place, and some of Bonaparte's friends feared for his life when he ruthlessly exposed the evil machinations of that political machine.

Senator Gorman was typical of his time; a

member of the Episcopal Church, revered in private life and respected. He was a man of good character, beloved by his family and sound in business affairs; but in politics he played the game as the game of politics was then and there played, which meant a resort to every form of intrigue, to the extent of false counting of ballots, locking of doors, putting out of lights, and use of physical force at party primaries.

I have heard many admirable addresses on the reform of the Civil Service, but the two that live in my mind as the most captivating were the last one that was ever given by George Wm. Curtis, wholly extemporary and never reported, and the other was one by Charles J. Bonaparte. They were different, but Bonaparte's was the most incisive; there was more of the sharp thrust of the rapier, the quick humor, and sarcasm, which kept his audience in a state of intense excitement, bursting out into frequent applause and laughter.

Bonaparte was something more than a theoretical reformer. When Attorney-General of the United States he found in his office five men receiving large salaries and doing almost nothing, as the work for which they had been originally employed, which was connected with the Civil War of 1861/5, had been completed.

As a Civil Service reformer, and an ardent patriot, he felt it his duty to dismiss these men. He found, however, that this was no easy task. His office was filled with Senators and Representatives of the Congress who demanded that these men should be retained on account of the political and social influence of their friends and relatives. Bonaparte, however, persisted, and the amount of money which they had been receiving for their salaries, and the floor space they uselessly occupied, were saved for the public benefit.

It has sometimes been said that Bonaparte had a more destructive than constructive mind. I know, however, that in the Navy Department he succeeded in extending the Civil Service rules to skilled mechanics and laborers in the Navy Yards. The plan to do so aroused the opposition of his Chief Clerk, a man long in the service, who said it could not be done because it never had been done, an argument not altogether convincing to Bonaparte.

However, to the end of his days he was chiefly a fighter of evils and not a constructor of preventive measures.

His attacks aroused public opinion to appreciate the horrors and degradations of the spoils system, and he educated a body of young

men who, in the hitherto hopeless city of Baltimore and before Bonaparte's death, succeeded in procuring Civil Service laws with effective provisions, and at last public opinion was so aroused in favor of the reform that the regular politicians of Maryland no longer dared to oppose it, which happy consummation we owe mainly to the life and services of our old friend, Charles J. Bonaparte.

I cannot close without speaking of his generous hospitality, his graceful gestures with his refined hands, his good breeding, his flow of conversation from a fount of varied information, and his kindly and genial humor among his friends.

I last saw him in his Baltimore house not long before his death, and though he was under strict orders to avoid needless exertion, after ending a very agreeable talk he insisted on rising from his chair and escorting us to the door, where we bade him what proved to be our last good-bye.

By William Dudley Foulke, LL.D.

FORMER MEMBER OF NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

I first met Charles J. Bonaparte at one of the early meetings of the National Civil Service Reform League at Newport; I think it was in 1886. George William Curtis had just delivered one of those memorable addresses which were landmarks in the record of the reform as well as in the history of American eloquence. This was in the Channing Memorial Church and afterwards the members of the League, representing some seventeen associations, assembled in the parlors of the church. Carl Schurz, Dorman B. Eaton, Everett P. Wheeler and perhaps two score of the other pioneers in the reform were present. Mr. Curtis called for one member from each association to give an account of what it had been doing. Among the earliest on the list was the Baltimore Association and he called the name of Charles J. Bonaparte as its representative to speak. The name of Bonaparte could hardly be unknown to anyone but up to that time I had heard nothing of this particular gentleman who bore it. A young man arose whose face bore no faint resemblance to that of the man so illustrious in history. In

a quiet but inimitable manner which I can never forget and in a voice which sometimes turned to falsetto, he remarked that the Baltimore association had been very successful in only one thing and that was in making an unmitigated nuisance of itself to pretty much every one in authority. He detailed the rascality of those then in power and the quite ineffectual efforts of the association to stem the tide of political debauchery which universally prevailed. We were greatly amused at his recital of the desperate condition of affairs in Maryland but I think we were also convinced that under the satirical thrusts of such an antagonist the forces of evil were not likely to have smooth sailing.

It was not long after this when, upon the advent of General Harrison to the Presidency, a conference was called by the Baltimore Association of the friends of Civil Service Reform in all parts of the country. I attended this conference representing the Indiana Association.

Mr. Bonaparte presided at the evening meeting which was addressed by Mr. Richard H. Dana, by Theodore Roosevelt and by myself. After Mr. Dana and Mr. Roosevelt had both described conditions in the civil service which

were grotesquely deplorable, Mr. Bonaparte introduced me with the humorous remark that as my subject dealt with the future of the reform I was not to be tied down by disagreeable facts but might allow my hope and my imagination to wander through the most blissful visions of our coming prosperity and triumph.

On this occasion Mr. Bonaparte entertained a number of us at the historic dwelling in which were gathered so many of the memories and indeed some of the trophies of the world's history. I recall one incident which illustrates the courtesy of our host. Mr. Swift and I had just arrived from Indiana. This was in the evening. We had been asked to go to Mr. Bonaparte's house immediately to confer with a number of the other delegates who were dining with him. We arrived before his guests had risen from the table. They were in evening dress while we were in our traveling clothes, not yet having gone to our hotel. On the following evening Mr. Swift and I were invited to dine with Mr. Bonaparte and naturally arrayed ourselves in our best, but what was our surprise to see the rest of the company in everyday business attire. The reason was undoubtedly that we, who came from the wild and woolly west and were not suspected of hav-

ing any other kind of garments, might be ill at ease if we were not like the others in our apparel. But the result was that not only at the dinner but at the public evening meeting afterwards it was distinctly observable that nobody except the two Hoosiers had come forth arrayed in the glory of evening costume.

Some years after this there was a dinner given to the League at the Savoy Hotel in New York. Bishop Potter presided and Mr. Roosevelt, who was then governor, spoke. He discussed the need of having civil service examinations of "a practical character," adapted not only to the office to be filled but to the particular locality in which the man was to serve. He had been civil service commissioner for six years and he knew thoroughly all the requirements. He thought a marshal or deputy collector of customs at El Paso, Texas, ought to have quite a different examination from a similar official in New York, that it would be useful for a man on the Rio Grande to be "handy with his gun" and it might therefore be a good thing to have a competitive examination in marksmanship. I was sitting next to Mr. Bonaparte and he suggested to me, sotto voce, that it might be still better in such an examination to have the applicants shoot at one another. I enlarged

upon this when called upon to speak just afterwards and said that with those sanguinary instincts which Mr. Bonaparte had no doubt inherited, he had made this still more "practical" suggestion, which had indeed one desirable feature, that it would render unnecessary the marking of the papers since the survivor would automatically obtain the place.

Mr. Bonaparte was constantly making such humorous and grotesque but always apt suggestions. Sometimes they were taken too seriously. I remember once that when he was Attorney General and was prosecuting the trusts, he remarked that where the covey was so large it would be remarkable if a discharge from a shotgun could not bring down at least one or two of the birds. Whereupon he was roundly denounced by the papers supporting big business for the utterly heartless manner in which he had spoken of those who were defending their own! To a man devoid of any sense of humor a good deal of what Mr. Bonaparte said must have been incomprehensible.

He always spoke best, as it seemed to me, when he spoke extemporaneously. His diction on such occasions was quite as fine as if he had written every word in advance and the thrust of his rapier was even more merciless for those

who had violated the plain injunctions of morality.

I have never known a man whose instinct for political rectitude was more unerring than that of Mr. Bonaparte. He was himself a pure and a just man and he scorned beyond measure those who trafficked in public office and betrayed the cause of their country for their personal or political advantage.

Mr. Bonaparte was not in the least effusive. It was not his way to tell his associates how much he loved them, but his actions in this regard were more eloquent than his words. Though he never said anything about it, I was always sure he was my steadfast friend and on my part I regarded him with a deep and abiding affection.

By Lucius B. Swift

In the Blaine campaign of 1884 I was Chairman of the Indiana Mugwump Committee of One Hundred which supported Mr. Cleveland who carried the state by a small majority. The following four years of his administration I was among those who tried hard to secure the enforcement of the civil service law in Indiana, in which attempt we failed. For that reason, in 1888 we very actively supported General

Harrison who carried the state by a small majority. In March following the election I attended a national conference of men opposed to sordid politics in the conduct of government, called to meet in Baltimore. It was a gathering of notable men and among them were Theodore Roosevelt and Mr. Bonaparte both of whom I met for the first time. I was the guest of John C. Rose now United States Judge in Baltimore and went with him to call upon Mr. Bonaparte at his office. He was not there but soon came in, a man I knew at once from his Bonaparte facial resemblance. That was thirty-three years ago.

Ever since the Civil War I had watched the discussion of the proposal to substitute the merit system for the spoils system in the civil service and I had been attracted by the name "Bonaparte" which I noted belonged to one of the ablest and most uncompromising leaders. I felt a pride that one of that name and lineage was an American who stood for the democracy of the merit system and that pride was vastly increased, as by close association during all the years following our first meeting I found what an absolutely unselfish, devoted and fearless American he was.

His manners notably showed his French de-

scent and to us, his colleagues, he was unconsciously a constant lesson in gracious urbanity. In getting the places transferred from the spoils system to the competitive system, we had to deal with a compact and powerful national organization composed of "boys in the trenches" and their leaders. They were politically desperate and they did everything possible to put an end to the growth and even the existence of the competitive system. Out here in Indiana we believed that the way to get in was to say and do things that hurt and we used the bludgeon. Mr. Bonaparte agreed with us entirely that the hide of the spoilsman was thick and that you must say and do things which get under it and made him smart. The fight which he carried on for many years in Maryland in behalf of good government is a masterpiece in civil progress worthy of any student and is found recorded in his own paper, the Civil Service Reformer of Baltimore, and in the Civil Service Record edited by Richard H. Dana of Boston and to a greater extent in our Civil Service Chronicle at Indianapolis. But in this fight, where we used a bludgeon, he used a rapier. His abundant supply of good natured wit and sarcasm even when dealing with his ugliest enemies found free play and illuminated his facts and

reasoning. He was without fear, he asked no quarter and once his grip held, he never let go. He always adapted himself to his antagonist. A Republican club in Baltimore had adopted resolutions censuring civil service reform and Mr. Bonaparte. His answer affords a typical instance of Mr. Bonaparte in action:

"The typical 'Republican Club' is well known in Baltimore politics. It is one of the many unholy fruits of our proximity to Washington and of the long control of Federal patronage by the party here in an evident minority. Its genesis is familiar to us all. A politician, booming himself for some office, 'rounds up' in a room he has hired over a grogshop a herd of shabby loafers, buys for them, on the installment plan, a second-hand table and chairs, guarantees them a reasonable credit at the bar downstairs, picks out one relatively sober as president and one not wholly illiterate as secretary, and behold the Elijah Pogram Republican Club of the Twenty-third ward, born on its brief life and ready to 'resolute' and 'delegate' in its owner's interest.

"When these gentry tell us that they detest civil service reform, they give us no news. We are as ready to believe this as that they abhor cleanliness and sobriety and honest endeavor

and wellnigh everything which makes man estimable or life in civilized society a source of happiness. If the convicts in our penitentiary or the prisoners in our jail gravely resolved that they didn't like those laws which prevent or punish larceny, no one would question their sincerity."

It was a pleasure to work with such a man, never weak-kneed, never doubting, never tired of the fight to put politics out of routine public business, and believing in hard hitting. At times the social hour had its turn and then his rare and scintillating qualities had full play. Once my wife was for the day at his country place and he gave his day to her entertainment. He brought out the diary of his grandmother written when she was in Europe in Bonaparte times and read with gusto her strictures upon members of the Bonaparte family.

I shall close by repeating what I wrote to Mrs. Bonaparte after his death:

"The memory of the life of Mr. Bonaparte fills me with the deepest admiration. He was one of that band of working comrades which I was permitted to join. He was every inch an American and every inch a king."

By James R. Garfield

FORMER SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

(*See also Chapter XV*)

My association with Mr. Bonaparte was most agreeable. He was a delightful gentleman of infinite tact, sound judgment, and an ever-present humor. These qualities were displayed to his intimate friends, but I surmise that those who did not know him well looked upon him as rather cold or perhaps haughty.

His sympathies were broad: he gave a great deal of attention in Baltimore to philanthropic and welfare work, and was always ready, as a good citizen should be, to aid in matters of public interest.

CHAPTER XXIII

FORMAL TRIBUTES OF ASSOCIATES

MANY testimonials of esteem and honor were paid to Bonaparte's memory in the days following his death. A marked feature of these was the warm personal regard that found expression in them. He had not only by his high attainments and unselfish public service won the profound respect of his associates, but also, by his simple and noble character, their genuine affection. His fellow members in the Council of the Civil Service Reform League, looking back over the thirty years in which he, as member and officer, had worked with untiring zeal in their cause, said in a commemoration resolution:

"It is not only with admiration, but with a sense of deep personal affection, that the members of the Council of the National Civil Service Reform League recall the life and services of their eminent colleague and former Chairman, Charles J. Bonaparte. He was a member and active participant in the work of the League from its earliest days. The strength and purity

of his character, the loftiness of his ideals, and his learning and ability are universally recognized. What distinguished him from others and made his advocacy of civil service reform so effective was his absolute fearlessness, the clarity and felicity of his expression, his powers of sarcasm and his caustic wit.

"As Secretary of the Navy and as Attorney-General he carried out with unswerving fidelity the principles he had so long advocated.

"In his own state it was from the seeds of his planting that the recent successes of the reform have grown.

"His whole life, like that of the founders of the Republic, was devoted to the public welfare rather than to his personal interests, and his example as well as his teaching will be of inestimable value to his countrymen."

The Bench and Bar of Baltimore united in one of the most notable and impressive tributes ever paid to a member of the legal profession of the city or, indeed, to any of its citizens. A memorial meeting was called for September 30, 1921, and a committee of members of the Bar was appointed to prepare an appropriate minute to be spread upon the records of the Supreme Bench. The exercises were held in the Superior Court room, with the judges of the Supreme

Court, the Court of Appeals and of the United States District Court occupying seats on the bench. In the audience, which filled the court-room, were members and friends of the Bonaparte family and a large attendance of lawyers. In their minute which the committee, composed of W. Hall Harris, Alexander Armstrong, Joseph Packard, George R. Gaither, William Cabell Bruce, Charles Morris Howard, and Robert Biggs, had prepared, they said in closing their review of his career:

"In every relation of life striving earnestly and sincerely to do his whole duty. A gentleman of courtesy and consideration; a scholar of erudition; a lawyer of exceptional ability; a gallant apostle of reform; a valiant champion of the helpless; a really good citizen; a true and steadfast friend; an affectionate and considerate husband.

"A man with a vision; serving his day and generation in the station in which it pleased God to place him, recognizing the obligation and the dignity of service to his fellow-men; holding high the standard of righteousness, individual, civic, national, and ever striving to lead his brethren to see it and to serve under it; a true and an uncompromising American citizen."

After reading the minute, Mr. Harris, the chairman of the committee, paid this feeling personal tribute:

"There was an aspect of Mr. Bonaparte's life not dwelt upon in this minute and not apparent to the public. He was naturally a modest and reserved man, with many friends and few intimates. Of his home life there are few competent to testify, and they cannot bring themselves to speak of the beauty of that which they feel he would himself have regarded as veiled from public concern. They alone know to the uttermost his affectionate consideration, his unfailing sympathy, his intimate interest in the welfare of others, his generous assistance, his wise counsel, his unfailing patience and cheerfulness under adverse conditions. They know their loss to be irretrievable and the expression of their sorrow to be beyond their power."

Mr. William Cabell Bruce, from whose address I have quoted on a previous page, spoke from an intimate acquaintance of many years, saying of Bonaparte's personal characteristics:

"To me his figure was one of the most vivid and interesting of our day; not only because of his fearless spirit and shining talents, but even because of his idiosyncrasies of manner

and speech, — his restless movements when seated, his swaying gait on the street, his incredulous laugh, his peculiar intonations. In every respect he bore the stamp of originality about him, and differed from most men as widely in his physical as in his intellectual characteristics. Nor could anyone well scan his features, so true to his family descent, without being reminded of the fact that he enjoyed the extraordinary distinction of being the grandnephew of perhaps the most renowned man in human history, the Great Napoleon, whose progress through the world had shaken it to its very foundations.

"Of Mr. Bonaparte as a writer and an orator, it is easy to speak in enthusiastic terms. He was uncommonly familiar with the masterpieces of general literature, and this familiarity was happily reflected in both his written and spoken words. Some of his occasional addresses were models of lucid, pointed and sparkling composition; and, strongly marked as his delivery was by abnormal peculiarities of modulation and gesture, he never failed to enchain the attention of his audience. As a rule, he brought the most sedulous degree of verbal preparation to his speeches, but, when he was unexpectedly called upon, he was the readiest impromptu

speaker that I at least have ever heard. On such occasions, nothing could be more delightful than the wit and pleasantry which flowed from his lips like water gliding over the face of a smooth rock."

To his indomitable courage and lofty zeal as a reformer of political abuses, Mr. Bruce gave this eloquent testimony:

"But it is as a political reformer that Mr. Bonaparte is entitled to be held in the highest respect. He was not a reformer in the much-abused sense in which that word is so often employed at the present time. He was no hysterical uplifter, to use the cant term of our age; no visionary idealist; no reckless agitator; no mere fanatical enthusiast. He was a reformer in the good old sober sense only; that is to say, a statesman just a little ahead of his time. All of his underlying instincts were profoundly conservative; indeed, one of his infirmities was his hostility to certain forms of economic progress. Even his quarrel with the oligarchy of professional relations of life-long antagonism, was not so much that it obstructed the adoption of new political ideas and methods, as that it deprived the citizen of existing Constitutional and legal rights which required further legislative protection. All the reforms which he espoused

were simply normal and logical extensions of the old immemorial principles of English and American Liberty and Justice. But within the limits of his reformatory creed, never was there a more courageous, a more zealous, a more consistent, reformer. For years he was the leading spirit of the Reform League and the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland — two organizations which exerted a powerful influence in emancipating the politics of this city and state from personal and partisan misrule. Again and again, the causes in which he was interested might have been fitly compared to tones of the human voice thrown back in feeble reverberations from granite walls; but no matter how dark the horizon, like the stern Republican of the English Civil War, he never abated one jot of heart or hope, but steered right onward. Other men might fall by the wayside; other men might be seduced from their political pledges by the solicitations, in one form or another, of selfish ambition or cupidity, but his political course was ever marked by an undeviating adherence to the lofty ideals and noble aims which he formed in his early manhood and unflinchingly asserted until the last day of his life. If ever there was a man who could say truthfully of himself, 'Obeyed at

eve the voice obeyed at prime,' it was he. I for one do not doubt that there was never a moment in his life when, if need were, he would not have been ready cheerfully to give up his existence itself in the maintenance of the convictions, which, I am sure, neither the wealth of Crœsus nor the loftiest office in the gift of the American People, nor the heat of the stake could have induced him to desert. For years they were the objects in no small degree of derision, scorn and hatred, and subjected him to the grossest misconceptions and misrepresentations. But how ignoble a thing does intolerance once more appear when we remember that not one solitary political reform that he ever advocated, whether it was the Australian ballot law, the Corrupt Practices Act, the Merit System of appointment, or some other like reform, but has now found its way to the Statute Book of Maryland.

"That he was honorable, truthful and upright, as well as brave, it is hardly necessary for me to say. He despised cant, humbug, hypocrisy and demagoguery, and at times it was interesting to see how they shrivelled up like paper in the flame of a candle when he brought that searching eye and skeptical laugh of his to bear upon them. No man, not even Napoleon himself, with all his scorn of what he

was in the habit of contemptuously terming 'ideology,' ever had a firmer hold upon the realities of existence. This was most strikingly shown on the eve of the recent war, when, long before some of our public representatives at Washington could be made to recognize the possibility of such a thing as a war between this country and Germany, he had passed from rostrum to rostrum silencing the chatter of the pacifist and the tremulous cry of the craven with his stern admonition that men, as so often before, were crying peace! peace! when there was no peace, and that nothing but strong arms and dauntless hearts could meet the urgent needs of the hour.

"In my intercourse with him, which extended over a period of nearly forty years, I never observed anything in his disposition or bearing that did not betoken a kind, courteous and considerate gentleman.

"Of the dignity and beauty of his family life, I should not speak, even if I had a better right to do so than I have. It is sufficient to say that one needed to be but slightly acquainted with it to realize that the richest measure of human affection has now made it too sacred to be freely spoken of on a public occasion like this."

Mr. George R. Gaither, who had been asso-

ciated with Bonaparte in many political movements, said of that branch of his activities:

"In his political activities Charles J. Bonaparte was always sufficiently independent to refuse to support his party if he thought it in the wrong, and yet so devoted to its fundamental principles that he could return to its support without the slightest loss of party standing. He was a genuine believer in American institutions, an ardent advocate of the highest ideals of public service, a democrat in his respect for the rights of his fellow-countrymen, and a relentless foe of every corrupt and hypocritical influence in the political life of his city and state. It is a glorious heritage for our profession that one of her sons, without the spur of necessity and against the environment of heredity and association, chose to give the best of his character, ability and energy to the unselfish service of his fellow-countrymen, and to the betterment of political conditions. With unswerving fidelity to his ideals he fought the battle for civic freedom and righteousness."

Mr. Charles Morris Howard spoke of Bonaparte in that aspect of him which especially commended him to Theodore Roosevelt — as a "fighting lawyer":

"Mr. Bonaparte was the possessor of at-

tributes which can ill be spared in these somewhat vexed and chaotic times. He had energy, clear-sightedness, physical and moral courage and immense zeal for the public welfare. Being in easy circumstances, he might readily have passed his life in idleness or self-indulgence, but he practised an almost Spartan simplicity and was an inveterate worker. I think it may fairly be said that the desire for justice, public and private, furnished the motive power of his life and he worked for it unceasingly. Being a man of broad horizon, he was naturally interested in underlying principles, but it would be a mistake to suppose that he merely theorized about public life. When constructive or remedial measures were in preparation, no one could be more painstaking or more thorough in his examination of all details. His capacity for self-imposed drudgery was apparent to all who worked with him.

"He was a speaker of pungent utterance and of caustic wit. He was ever a fighter. Some there were who regarded him as unnecessarily severe, but it is to be remembered that the ninth and tenth decades of the last century was a time when corruption, both in business and politics, probably attained its fullest development. Big business was linked with little

politics and little politics invariably exacted its toll from big business, which in turn big business had not the courage to resist. Honied phrases were not suited to those times. Mr. Bonaparte's invective was both necessary and salutary. Without the slightest regard for his personal fortunes, he spoke out with the directness and earnestness of the Hebrew Prophets. His ideals were lofty and he could see no reason either for compromising or concealing them. I do not think he was a man of strong personal animosities. When he blazed with the greatest heat, it was only because he loved truth and hated meanness."

Mr. Alexander Armstrong, Attorney-General of the State, and a Democrat, dwelt on that leading attribute of Bonaparte's character, his intense Americanism:

"I have always felt that the secret of Mr. Bonaparte's successful career lay in his intense Americanism. He was the embodiment of the true American spirit, representing our best traditions, finest principles and most exalted aspirations. Although he cherished a deep faith in the structure of the Government as planned by the great fathers, he nevertheless challenged as dangerous and un-American certain developments which manifested themselves

about the middle of the last century. The man who believed that 'to the victor belongs the spoils,' that every political office, high or low, was the legitimate prey of the political henchman, and that every political contest should be won whether by fair means or foul, became the target of his unrelenting attack, and so bitter and persistent was the war waged by him and his associates that the old-fashioned 'boss' was finally dethroned and substantially shorn of his power. Mr. Bonaparte was also a potent factor in weaving into the fabric of our governmental life the principle of civil service, recognizing fitness and fidelity in the performance of official duties, but he also championed the cause of good government in Maryland and materially aided in the establishment of legal safeguards which guaranteed a free, unbiased and accurate expression of the public will. His record was in no sense the result of accident; it was the product of constant application and conscious choice. Although possessed of large wealth, he brought to the practice of the law the same earnestness, application and enthusiasm which might have characterised one who depended upon his professional income for his daily bread. Although a Republican by birth and conviction, he did not hesitate, upon

occasions, to turn away from Republican candidates and platforms which appeared to violate those standards of political thought and conduct of which his conscience approved. He desired above all things to be right, to be true to all those conceptions of citizenship which had been fashioned by his mind and heart, and so deep were his convictions, so great his courage, that in order to be right and true he was willing to sever old ties and abandon for a time long established relationships.

"Mr. Bonaparte was not only a magnetic and powerful influence in Maryland in that critical epoch of her history when leaders of clear vision, pure motives and fiery zeal were especially needed, but was also called by reason of his widely acknowledged ability to the councils of the nation. He was one of fourteen Marylanders to sit in the Presidential Cabinet and the latest to enjoy that distinction. He was one of six Marylanders to act as Attorney General of the United States, and one of four to serve as Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Bonaparte's long and enviable record justly entitles him to be considered one of Maryland's noblest sons. His active contributions to the public service were substantially ended some years prior to his death, but they dealt with principles so

fundamental and so vital to the perpetuation of American institutions that the labors he performed are still bearing bountiful harvests, not only to the people of Maryland, but to all the vast citizenship of the great nation which he loved so well."

As the closing speaker of the occasion, Chief Judge Soper called upon John C. Rose, Presiding Judge of the U. S. District Court in Maryland, to respond on behalf of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. In his address, which he subsequently amplified into a biographical sketch of Bonaparte for the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, Judge Rose said:

"He was by nature something of a literalist. When he was told that this corporation or that wanted to obey the law, he replied: 'Well, do so; there is the Act, and in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association and the Joint Traffic Association cases the Supreme Court has in effect said that reason cannot be resorted to in determining whether a particular case is within the prohibition of the anti-trust statutes. Do not try to buy up your competitors; enter into no agreements or understandings with any of them by which prices will be directly or indirectly fixed; abandon all efforts to control or monopolize the markets, and you will be safe.'

More, or other, it was impossible to get from him, and, like the young man of nineteen centuries ago, they went away sorrowful.

"In his dealings with these representatives of great business interests, he exhibited the same traits of character so prominently displayed in his long fight for better things in city, state and nation. He knew his visitors wanted him to point out some way by which they could safely do what the statutes intended they should not do at all, and Bonaparte persistently kept that fact ever before them, just as he always said that the gift of a purely administrative public post to some one as a reward for party service was a breach of trust; the manipulation of election machinery a treasonable fraud; the protection of those who lived off the vices of the community a participation in their misdeeds. Those who had an interest in any of these practices, and at the same time liked to feel themselves respectable, found exceeding bitter the apples from this particular branch of the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

"In body and largely in mind one may think his Italian ancestry manifested itself, and to that, perhaps, may be traced his looks, his manner, his courtesy, his wit, his capacity for cold, accurate, pitiless analysis, and a certain dash

of cynicism with which his talk was flavored; but, after all, he was only one-fourth Corsican. His mother was of New England stock; the Pattersons were Scotch-Irish, and through the Spears and the Copelands the blood of Maryland and the South ran in his veins. There was from New England and Ulster a large element of the Puritan in him, and, although his theological views were poles away from Puritanism, he was at one with the best of the Puritans in his conception of the relation of moral to all other values. It was that conception which moulded his character and constrained him to put all his gifts of mind to the real work of his life, which, after all is said and done, was not at the Bar, distinguished and creditable as what he there did was. His great service to his fellow-citizens was his fearless, untiring and uncompromising battle for higher standards of public life.

"He had no pity for those who wished to think themselves decent and respectable, but who were longing over-much for the honors and emoluments which were in the gift of the corrupt and corrupting bosses of the day. He had no mercy with those who wanted to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. What he said and what he wrote cut many to the quick.

They felt that he had done them an injustice. In a sense they were sometimes right in that his portraits of them were not fully rounded and did not take account of the positions in which they found themselves and still less of their political convictions or prejudices which led them to suppose that in what they were doing they were choosing the least of two evils. He did not claim to be writing balanced biographies which accurately appraised not only their weak but their strong qualities. He was busy with something else. He took a particular thing that they had done or defended and he described it as it was. It was in the very accuracy of these characterizations that their mercilessness lay.

"His logic was uncompromising. If the practice he was discussing was stealing votes or breaking trusts, he insisted that every man who aided or abetted it, or who was willing to take the benefit of it, was a thief or a defaulter. It almost seemed as if he subjected character to a spectroscopic test, and called public attention to the lines which demonstrated the presence of base elements. He was not concerned with whatever else the spectroscope might reveal. The men he was attacking might be of many and divers virtues. That was not

his affair. He kept his finger pointing to the black lines, not because he wanted to do those men any harm, for I do not think he had a touch of malice about him, but because he had persuaded himself that it was only in that way that he could teach many of his fellow-citizens that they were paying too high a price for what they were getting out of corrupt politics. How angry he made those he assailed, and yet always down at the bottom of their hearts they had an uncanny feeling that he was at least partially right. In the end many of them made up their minds that they could no longer stand for those things which he had charged against them, and then reform came.

"It was a difficult and unpopular role he took for himself, but yet for decades he followed it with unflinching courage and never-flagging persistence. I imagine that with his keen interest in public affairs he would have liked to have held some of those offices which can be obtained only by election, but the work he had undertaken to do made him unavailable as a candidate for any of them. He knew it well, but he kept on just the same. The sacrifice of all chances of gratifying worthy ambition was one of the many he deliberately made. He was absolutely disinterested. He never had any

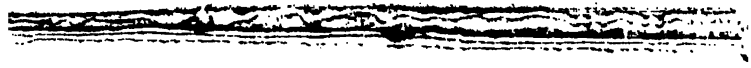
kind of axe to grind. Everybody knew it. The only kind of attack that anybody could think of making on him was to call him the 'Imperial Peacock of Park Avenue,' or something of that sort, the insinuation of course being that he held himself above most of his fellow-citizens. To the best of my apprehension that charge was false, but that it was the only one ever made is convincing evidence how spotless were his life and his actions.

"He gave himself and all that he was and had to making better his city, his state and his country, and in so doing he honored greatly the profession of which he was a member, and which is here gathered to pay tribute to his memory."

In dismissing the meeting Chief Judge Soper said:

"It has been suggested here today that there were heights in the legal profession to which Mr. Bonaparte did not care to attain because they involved some surrender of his independence of action; and that the very vehemence of his attack from time to time, in support of public causes, may have deprived him of the rewards of high office. Some folks might say, and some have said, perhaps, that he was not altogether a practical man; and

yet, now that he is gone and we can study his figure of great political power and moral dignity, we can realize in part how great has been his influence for good and how permanent have been his accomplishments. And we wonder if it may not be said that the life of Mr. Bonaparte was the most practical, the most useful, that any in our time has lived. We are grateful to you, gentlemen, for the presentation of this matter. The record will be received gladly and the minute of his life will be spread, with your speeches, upon the permanent record of the court."



INDEX

"Academic Pharisee," 103
Adams, Charles Francis, 207, 208
Adams, Henry, 207, 208
Adams, John, 202
Addresses: on election frauds in Maryland, 67–71; on Christian morality and political life, 78; on reformers, 79; on good government and good citizens, 80–82; on patriots and pessimists, 82; on the American Revolution, 83–87; on political bosses, 87; on appointment of office-holders, 88; on woman suffrange, 89; on the Republican Party, 90; on future of negro race in America, 109–111; on trusts, 129, 130; when taking oath of office as Attorney-General, 130; on enforcement of the law, 149, 150; the later addresses of, 174, *ff.*; on men in office and the government, 175; on civic responsibilities of girls, 176–178; on self-government, 179; on non-political offices and politics, 180; on Americans, 184; in the Presidential campaign of 1912, 188–190; on preparedness, 194–196, 202, 203; on universal military training, 196; on why we are in the war and how we may win it, 197–199; on lessons of the war, 202–204; on the Catholic Church, 238 *ff.*; of welcome to Cardinal Gibbons, 241; on the Indian problem, 245
Alaska, 219, 220
Alexander, Prince, 126
Allegory, an, 26
America, Catholics in, 249
"American Institutions and the Catholic Church," 239
American Nation, birth of the, 83
American Revolution, the, 84–87
Americanism of Bonaparte, 284
Americans, two conspicuous traits of, 184
Anarchism, 171
Annapolis, reprimand to midshipman at, 116–118
Anti-Saloon League, the, 163
Appearance, personal, of Charles J. Bonaparte, 107, 108, 220, 227, 262, 268, 277
Appleton, Mrs. Caroline Edgar, 23
Argument of cases, the, 56
Aristocracy, 39
Aristodemos, 177, 178
Armistice, German requests for, 197
Armstrong, Alexander, 275; his tribute to Bonaparte, 284–287
Arts and Sciences, Graduate School of, 255
Arundell Club, address before, 199
Attorney-General, Bonaparte's appointment as, 56, 59, 128–132, 259; hostile press criticism of Bonaparte as, 137, *ff.*, 152, *ff.*

Baltimore, the Bonaparte home in, 48, 212–215, 228; the fight for honest government in, 66, *ff.*, 71, 72, 174, 279; Roosevelt's investigation of Federal offices in, 93; tribute of Bench and Bar of, 49, 274–293
Baltimore Reform League, the, 73, 75, 77, 108, 279
Bar of Baltimore, the, tribute of, 49, 274–293
Baruch, Barney, 207
Battenberg, Prince Louis of, 126
"Bella Vista," 215–219
Bellerophon, the, 103
Bench and Bar of Baltimore, the, tribute of, 49, 274–293

Bennington, the, boiler explosion on, 112–114
Biggs, Robert, 275
Blücher, Field Marshal von, 90, 91.
Bonaparte, Carlo, 214
Bonaparte, Charles Joseph, birth of, 20, 22; ancestry of, 3, *ff.*, 20, 288, 289; dominating influence of his mother, 20, 21; character of, 21, 23, 27, 32, 38, 48, 50, 51, 58, 59, 63, 132, 222, *ff.*, 254, 267, 270, 272, 274, 275, 280, 282; childhood of, 23, *ff.*, 222; at the Bujac School, 24–30; his love for America, 24; an allegory by, 26; a proficient scholar, 27, 29, 40–42, 46; at Harvard University, 31–42, 181, 253; a devout Catholic, 32, 39, 237, *ff.*; his fight for clean politics, 32, *ff.*, 61, *ff.*, 72, 73, 93, 102, 103, 254, 256, 278–280, 288–292; the Signet Society formed by, 34–36; his admiration for his brother Jerome, 36, 37; at Law School, 43–47, 255; independent attitude of, toward political parties, 45, 282, 285; admitted to the bar, 48; his career as a lawyer, 48, *ff.*, 52–59 174, 255; pleasing personality of, 48, 59; wealth a handicap to, 49; friend and champion of the helpless, 50; his sense of humor, 50, 58, 133, 152, 159, 161, *ff.*, 206, 250, 266; fistic encounter of, 52; wonderful memory of, 54, 64; arguing of cases by, 56–58; a pioneer in civil service reform, 61, 73, 77, *ff.*, 174, *ff.*; the smile of, 64, 106, 108, 152, 225; denunciation of bosses by, 64; his fight for honest government in Maryland, 66, *ff.*, 142, 174, 185, 205, 258, 263, 269, 279, 285–287; appointed supervisor of elections, 73–76; practical attitude of toward reformers, 79; in politics, a Republican, 90; his close relationship with Roosevelt, 92, *ff.*, 96, 133, 135, 151, 186–188, 197; a fighting lawyer, 94, 282–284; services of, desired by Roosevelt, 94, 95; Indian territory investigations of, 94; investigation of postal service frauds, 95; popularity never sought by, 95, 96; a Republican Presidential elector, 96; postmaster recommended by, 96, 97; cartoons of, 97, 103; his reputation as a reformer, 102, 278–280; appointed Secretary of the Navy, 102–108; opprobrious names given to, by political enemies, 103; personal appearance of, 107, 108; resemblance to Napoleon, 107, 220, 227, 262, 268, 277; activities in the Navy Department, 112–127; his services to the negro, 108–111, 174, 256, 257; the *Bennington* inquiry, 112–114; respect for sailors' uniform demanded by, 114–116; reprimand to midshipman, 117; suggestion of, regarding the *Constitution*, 118–123; large navy recommended by, 100, 123; efficiency as Secretary of the Navy, 126; his description of his experiences in Navy Department, 123–126; appointed Attorney-General, 128–132, 154, *ff.*, 259; the popular opinion of, 131, 132; his account of Roosevelt's administration, 133–136; hostile press criticism of, as Attorney-General, 137–139, 143–148, 152–154, 157, 158; rumors of discord with Roosevelt groundless, 139, 142, 145; his criticism of Roosevelt's Provincetown address, 139–141; prosecution of trusts by, 140, 142, 144, 148–150, 155, 156, 287; misrepresentation of, by newspapers, 143, 146, 148, 153, 154; false report of intended retirement of, 138, 146, 147, 152; Roosevelt's appreciation of, 150, 151; indifference of, to attacks upon, 152–154; suggested as Presidential candidate, 158; the "official will" of, 159; interview of, with governor of New Mexico, 164–167; his methods in office described by Mr. Gauss,

169–171; retirement of, from public office, 168, 169, 173, *ff.*; refusal of, to purchase Napoleonana, 171, 214; distaste for politics, 173; law practice resumed by, 174; a gifted orator, 174, 277, 283; the later addresses of, 174–185; advocacy of civil service and municipal reforms, 174–185; candidacy of Roosevelt supported by, 186, *ff.*; his tribute to Roosevelt, 186–188; support of Hughes by, 189, 190; his disapproval of Wilson's administration, 189, 190; need of preparedness urged by, 191, *ff.*, 281; attitude toward compulsory military training, 196; attitude toward America in the World War, 198, 199; views of, on the League of Nations, 199–201, 204; two lessons drawn from World War by, 202–204; marriage of, 209–212; his home at Chestnut Wood, 212–215, 228; heir to half of his grandmother's property, 213; at Bella Vista, 215–219; his love of horses, 217–219; courtesy of, 217, 261, 281; annual trips to Canada, 219, 220; failing health of, 219, 220, 229–231; trip to Alaska, 220; death of, 221, 231; solitariness of, 222, 225; his devotion to the right, 223, 224; tribute of, to S. T. Wallis, 223; idiosyncrasies of, 225, 226, 277; sincerity and high principle of, 224; friends of, 225; his devotion to wife and home, 226, 231, 232; Europe never visited by, 227; beloved by his official and domestic household, 227; burial of, 231, 232; his butler's account of, 233–236; charitable work of, 249–252; a member of the Progressive Party, 257; on Harvard Board of Overseers, 257; Dr. Eliot's estimate of, 253–258; Richard H. Dana's estimate of, 258–261; William D. Foulke's estimate of, 262–267; Lucius B. Swift's estimate of, 267–271; James R. Garfield's estimate of, 272; tribute of Civil Service Reform League to, 273; tribute to, of Bench and Bar of Baltimore, 274–293; an intense American, 284. *See also* Addresses *and* Letters

Bonaparte, Mrs. Charles Joseph (Ellen Channing Day), 6, 8, 220; at White House supper, 167, 168; father of, 209; meeting with her future husband, 210–212; marriage of, 212; Napoleonana presented to Maryland Historical Society by, 214; devotion of husband to, 226, 231

Bonaparte, Charlotte, 17

Bonaparte, Jerome, marriage of, 3–7; refuses to return to France without wife, 7–10; his mother's letter to, 9; goes to Paris to plead with Napoleon, 10; Napoleon's efforts to annul marriage of, 12; consents to divorce, 13, 14; made King of Westphalia, 14, 15, 126, 227; sees wife in Pitti Palace, 14; death of, 19

Bonaparte, Mrs. Jerome (Elizabeth Patterson), marriage of, 3–7; forbidden to visit France, 7, 10, 11; sails for Lisbon, 10; goes to England, 11; birth of son, 11; pension offered to, by Napoleon, 11, 13; return of, to America, 13; divorce of, 14; visits of, to Europe, 14–20; reception of, in Paris, 15; welcome to, in Geneva, 16; her visit to Rome, 16, 17; appeal of, for share in husband's estate, 19, 20; decree entitling descendants of, to name of Bonaparte, 19; disapproves of son's marriage, 19; death of, 20; disapproval of marriage of grandson, 213; property of, divided between grandsons, 213; portraits of, 215; diary of, 271; letters of, 13, 14, 16

Bonaparte, Jerome Napoleon, 211; birth of, 11; his mother's description of, 16; plan to marry to cousin, 17; at Harvard, 18, 253;

preference of, for America, 18, 19; marriage of, 19; visit of, to Paris, 19; made citizen of France, 19; death of, 20; president of Union Club, 21; Napoleonic relics collected by, 214; letters from his son to, 25–31; letters of, 17, 18
Bonaparte, Mrs. Jerome Napoleon (Susan May Williams), 19; character of, 20, 21; influence of, upon her son, 20; letters to, from her son, 32, 36–39, 41, 44–47, 218; Dr. Peabody's letter to, 42.
Bonaparte, Jerome Napoleon, Jr., 42; birth of, 20; sketch of life of, 22, 23; his brother's admiration for, 36, 37; grandmother's disapproval of marriage of, 213; heir to half of grandmother's property, 213
Bonaparte, Joseph, 17, 215
Bonaparte, Letizia (mother of Napoleon), 8, 10, 17, 19, 214
Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon I
Boone, Daniel, 215
Borghese, the Princess, 16, 17
Boss, the political, 64, 67, 81, 87
Boston, the first families of, 39; protest of, against destruction of the *Constitution*, 118, 121
Boston City Club, address before, 184
Bourmont, General, 90
Brearley, Samuel, 225, 226
Bribery, 88, 89, 93
Briscoe, Nathan, his story of Charles J. Bonaparte, 233–236
Bruce, William Cabell, 275; tribute of, to Bonaparte, 59, 276–281
Bryn Mawr, address at, 176–178
Buchanan, James, 202
Buck, Walter H., 207
Bujac, Monsieur and Madame, the school of, 24–30.
Burke, 80, 82
Burnett, Paul M., on Bonaparte's ability and methods as a lawyer, 52–59
Butler, the, account of Bonaparte by, 233–236
Canada, annual visits to, 219, 220
Canadian Club, address before, 175
Canova, 214
Carey, Francis, 73
Carriage, the Bonaparte, 226
Carroll, Archbishop John, 5
Cartoons, newspaper, 97, 103
Cases at law, the arguing of, 56; criminal, 57; divorce, 58; Supreme Court, 155
Catholic Church, the, Bonaparte's devotion to, 32, 39, 237, *ff.*; the mission of, 238; its relations to American institutions, 239; province of laymen in, 240
Catholic University of America, the, address before, 77
Catholics, the province of the layman, 240; good, as good citizens, 242–245; in the World War, 248; increase of, in America, 249
Central America, 134
Century Magazine, the, 123, 155
Character of Charles J. Bonaparte, 21, 23, 27, 32, 38, 48, 50, 51, 58, 59, 63, 132, 222, *ff.*, 254, 267, 270, 272, 274, 275, 280, 282
Charitable work, 249–252
Charity Organization Society, the, 249
Charles I, 87, 240
Chestnut Wood, the Bonaparte home, 212–215, 228
Chicago, the fire in, 211, 212; address at, 149, 150
Childhood of Charles J. Bonaparte, 23, *ff.*, 222
China, 194
Christianity and politics, 78, 79
Citizens, good, and good government, 80–82; good Catholics as good, 242–245
"Civic Responsibilities of Girls," address on, 176
Civil Service Chronicle, the, 269
Civil Service Commission, National, 93
Civil Service Record, the, 269
Civil Service reform, the fight for, 32, 37, 61, 73, 76, 174, *ff.*, 256, 258–261, 268, 280

Civil Service Reform League of Maryland, the, 73, 77, 279
Civil Service Reform League, National, 73, 77, 256, 262–265; Roosevelt a member of, 92; addresses before, 183, 185; tribute of the Council of, 273, 274
Civil Service Reformer, the, 73, 269
Civil War, the, 21; Maryland's situation in, 68, 69
Concord, address at, 83–87
Connecticut Historical Society, the, 209
Constitution, the, suggestion to destroy, 118–123, 163
Constitutional Convention of 1864, 69, 70
Contract, marriage, of Jerome Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson, 6
Corbet, Charles Louis, 214
Corporations, prosecution of, 140, 150, 156
Cortelyou, 135
Courant, the Hartford, 209
Courtesy, 217, 261, 281
Cowen, John K., 72
Cranks, 171, 250
Crillon, Hotel, 206
Criminal cases, 57
Criticism, hostile, of newspapers, 137–139, 143–148, 152–154, 157, 158
Cromwell, 193
Cuba, 134
Curry, Governor, 164–167
Curtis, George William, 259, 262

Dallas, Alexander J., 5
Dana, Richard Henry, 263, 269; estimate of Bonaparte by, 258–261
Daughters of the American Revolution, 202
Day, Ellen Channing. *See* Bonaparte, Mrs. Charles J.
Day, Jeremiah, 209
Day, Thomas, 209
Day, Thomas Mills, 209
Day, Mrs. Thomas Mills, 210–212, 220
Decalogue, the, and politics, 78
Denton, address at, 129
Dickens, Charles, Bonaparte's favorite author, 47, 82, 124
Didier, Eugene L., his "Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte" quoted, 15
Disfranchising Amendments of Maryland Constitution, defeat of, 108, 109, 174
Divorce cases, 58
Doorkeepers, 185

Eagle, the Brooklyn, 160
Eaton, Dorman B., 262
Edgar, Mrs. Caroline, 23
"Education of Henry Adams," the, 207, 208
Election frauds, 66–76, 79
Elections, Supervisor of, 73–76
Elector, Republican Presidential, 95
Eliot, Charles W., 31, 32, 181; his estimate of Bonaparte, 253–258
Emerson, William, 86
English Civil War, the, 87, 279
Englishmen of New England, 83
Erin, the, 10, 11
Evening Sun, the Baltimore, 191–193

Fiction, reading of, 47
Fistic encounter, a, 52
Ford, Henry, 200
Forum, the, 66
Foulke, William Dudley, his estimate of Bonaparte, 262–267
France, consulted regarding Bonaparte's appointment to Cabinet, 102
Francis Joseph, Emperor, 203
Freedom, 179
Friends of Charles J. Bonaparte, 225

Gaither, George R., 275; tribute to Bonaparte by, 76, 282
Garfield, James R., 169; quoted, 164; his estimate of Bonaparte, 272
Gauss, E. S., 168; description of Bonaparte by, 169–171

George III, 86, 87
Gibbons, Cardinal, 226, 232; quoted, 104; address of welcome to, 241; Bonaparte's sketch of, 246–248
Gilman County School, address before, 180
Girls, civic responsibility of, 176
Gittings Homestead, the, 215, 216
Golden Rule and politics, 78
Good Government, 73
Gorman, Senator, 64, 107, 258
Gorman Ring, the, overthrow of, 71, 72, 104
Government, and good citizens, 80–82; and good men in office, 175; and freedom, 179, 180
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the, 255
Grant, Ulysses S., 43–45, 202
Greeley, Horace, 43–45
Gries, Harriet, 227; her picture of Charles J. Bonaparte, 228–233

Harford Road, the Bonaparte home on, 215–219
Harriman, 144
Harris, W. Hall, 275; appointment of, as postmaster, 96; tribute of, 276
Harrison, Benjamin, 263, 268
Harvard Advocate, the, 35
Harvard Graduates' Magazine, the, 287
Harvard Law School, 43–47, 255
Harvard University, 18, 31–42, 52, 181, 208–210, 253–255; the Signet Society at, 34–36; Phi Beta Kappa address at, 81; the Board of Overseers of, 257
Hay, John, 222
Haywood, 140
Hendricks, Bishop, 212
Hobbies, 251
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 31, 121
Holy Name Society, the, address before, 248
Horses, Bonaparte's love of, 217–219
House, Colonel, 206, 207
Howard, Charles Morris, 275; his tribute to Bonaparte, 282–284
Hughes, Charles E., 189, 190
Humor, 50, 58, 133, 152, 159, 161, *ff.*, 206, 250, 266

Ideology, 281
Idiosyncrasies, personal, of C. J. Bonaparte, 225, 226, 277
"Imperial Peacock of Park Avenue," 103, 292
Indian Commissioners, the Board of, 94, 256
Indian problem, the, 245, 246
Indian Territory, investigations in, 94
Indiana Mugwump Committee, the, 267
Indians, unjust treatment of, 110
Infallibility dogma, the, 39, 40
Interviews, imaginary newspaper, 143, 146, 148
Iselin, Henri-Frédéric, 214

Jackson, Andrew, 202
Japan, 134
Jefferson, Thomas, 196, 202
Johnson, John Helmsley, 73
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 233
Jones, John Paul, 123
Journal of Commerce, the, 138, 145
Justice, the Department of, 150

Kaiser William, 197, 203
Kidder, Camillus G., 228
Kinson, 215
Knox, Attorney-General, 151

Lætare Medal, the, 242
Landis, Judge, 146, 152, 153; letter to, 148
Langdell Case System of teaching law, 255
Latimer, Bishop, 88
Law, practice of, 48, *ff.*, 52–59, 174, 255
Law School, Harvard, 43–47, 255
Laws, need of obedience to, 128, 135, 149
Lawyer, Bonaparte's ability and methods as a, 52–59; a fighting, 94, 282–284
Laymen in the Catholic Church, 240

League of Nations, the, 199–201, 204
Le Camas, Alexander, 5
Leonidas, 176, 177
Letters of Charles J. Bonaparte: to his father, 25–30; to his mother, 32, 36–39, 41, 44–47, 218; to Roosevelt, 98–101, 139–147; to Judge Landis, 148; to Taft, 169; refusing to purchase Napoleonana, 171; after an address on anarchism, 171; to Mrs. D. E. Wheeler, 204–207; to W. H. Buck, 207
Levant Herald, the, 105
Liberia, 110
Liberty, American love of, 184
Lincoln, Abraham, 69
Liquorice Trust, the, 140, 141
Livery, the Bonaparte, 226
Louis of Battenberg, 126
Louis XVIII, 15
Lowell, 62
Lyon, Ernest, 110

Macaulay, 180, 240
Madison, James, 196, 202
Mahon, John J., 105
Mammie, the nurse, 23
Manning, Cleveland P., 227, 232, 233
Mars, 134
Maryland, the fight for honest government in, 66, *ff.*, 142, 174, 185, 205, 258, 263, 269, 279, 285–287; in the Civil War, 68, 69; Civil Service Reform League of, 73, 77
Maryland Club, the, 21
Maryland Historical Society, the, 6, 214, 221
Maryland, University of, address before Law School of, 197–199
Massot, 215
McKinley, William, 202
Medals, 182
Melvin. Amos, 86
Memory, a wonderful, 54, 64
Men in office, good, and good government, 175
Mère, Madame, 9, 10, 17, 19, 214
Merit system in civil service, 256, 268, 269
Midshipman, reprimand to, 116–118
Military training, compulsory universal, 196, 197
Mill, John Stuart, 179, 180
Milwaukee, attempted assassination of Roosevelt at, 188
"Miss Susan," 41
Moody, Attorney-General, 99, 100, 135, 151
Morrison, Rev. George F., 30
Morton, Secretary of the Navy, 102, 172
Municipal government reform, advocacy of, 174, *ff.*

Name, decree entitling descendants of Elizabeth Patterson to the Bonaparte, 19
Names given Charles J. Bonaparte by political enemies, 103
Napier, Colonel, 182
Napoleon I, 3–5, 126, 280; refusal of, to acknowledge brother's American marriage, 7, 8, 11–13; coronation of, 12; abdication of, 14, 15; cartoons of, 103; Charles J. Bonaparte's resemblance to, 107, 220, 227, 262, 268, 277; condemnation for, 171; St. Helena statue of, 220; marble bust of, 214; letter of, 10
Napoleon III, 19, 36, 214
Napoleonana, the collection of, 171, 213, 214
Narvaez, Marshal, 198
Nation, self-government in a, 179, 180
National Civil Service Commission, the, 93
National Civil Service Reform League. *See* Civil Service Reform League, National
National Conference of Charities and Corrections, address to, 250
National Municipal League, 175
National Security League, address before, 196
Naval Academy at Annapolis, 116–118
Naval uniform, respect for the, 114–116